

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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MARCH, 1951

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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES: *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June, 1950); *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June, 1950); *The Georgia Review* (Fall, 1950); *The William and Mary Quarterly* (October, 1950).....edited by DUBOSE MURPHY  
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## Editorials

### Our Twentieth Year! Twentieth Volume!

**W**ITH this number, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE enters its twentieth year and begins its twentieth volume of continuous publication. This is a long or short period, depending on the point of view.

In the Early Iron and Bronze Age, the average span of life was only eighteen years; as late as a century ago, it was only 40.9 years; in 1945, 65.8 years; today, it is nearing 70 years<sup>1</sup>

Twenty years in the life of a young man seem a long time, and appear to go slowly. This is due to two things: one, the rapid changes—physical, mental, social—between infancy and young manhood; two, one begins remembering about the age of five, and the fifteen years between five and twenty comprise one hundred per cent of remembered time. Paradoxically, the older we grow, the faster the years seem to pass. During the twenty years between thirty-five and fifty-five, the pattern of life is pretty well set, and these two decades comprise only forty per cent of remembered time—twenty years out of fifty.

One of the stars in our crown is the "Origins of the Episcopal Church Press from Colonial Days to 1840 Number," by Dr. Clifford P. Morehouse,<sup>2</sup> then as now editor of *The Living Church*. Over one hundred periodicals are listed in the index to that number, and of them only the following survive:

*The Churchman*; *The Southern Churchman*; *Forth* (as successor to *The Spirit of Missions*); *The Living Church Annual* (as successor to the *American Church Almanac* and the *Churchman's Almanac*).

Compared to such Nestors among the Church's publications, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is but an infant. However, most of the one hundred periodicals whose history is recounted by Dr. Morehouse, never had a life span of twenty years; and in our own time the *American Church Monthly* and *The Chronicle* have ceased publication.

<sup>1</sup>Statistical Bulletin, 1947, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York City.

<sup>2</sup>HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XI (September, 1942), pp. 199-238.

ments in the fulfillment of its authorized purpose. Many encomiums have cheered us along the way, and we are immodest enough to share two recent ones with our readers. The first, dated January 11, 1951, is from a layman of the Church, Mr. George C. Mason, of Newport News, Virginia:

The "bill of fare" [for 1951] is truly appetizing. The S. P. G. articles [for June], "the Diary of George Keith" [for December], and the "Clergy List of 1785" [for September], would any one of them draw my check.

The second is part of an editorial by our contemporary, *The Witness*, January 25, 1951:

The Church HISTORICAL MAGAZINE [is] one of the foremost journals of scholarship in Christendom.

WALTER H. STOWE.

## The 250th Anniversary of the S. P. G., 1701-1951



ON June 16, 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, commonly called the S. P. G. or the Venerable Society, was chartered by William III, King of England. It was not the first missionary society in an incorporated sense,<sup>1</sup> but it was the first to prosecute missionary work on such a world-wide scale, and it is still doing so very effectively.

A quarter of a millennium is a long time in the life of man, but according to the Psalmist (Psalm 90:4), it is but a quarter of a day in God's sight.

The late Dr. E. Clowes Chorley stated that "under God, the S. P. G. saved the Church in America from extinction."<sup>2</sup> Few will deny the truth of this statement, and it would therefore be base ingratitude for HISTORICAL MAGAZINE to "come behind" in paying its tribute to the Venerable Society on this occasion.

<sup>1</sup>The first missionary society was "The New England Company," or, to give it its original name, "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," set up by an ordinance of the Long Parliament under Cromwell, July 27, 1649, to assist the Rev. John Eliot and others in the conversion of the Indians in North America. [See John W. Lydekker, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIII (1944), pp. 107-17.]

<sup>2</sup>"The Story of the American Church," in *The Witness*, March 14, 1935.

## EDITORIALS

Dr. Francis L. Hawks (1798-1866) and Bishop William Stevens Perry (1832-1898) were the first to call the attention of the Church in an organized way to the part played by the S. P. G. in the founding of the American Church. In 1901, C. F. Pascoe's indispensable volumes, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, were published. Then there followed almost a generation of neglect.

Over twenty years ago, Dr. Edgar L. Pennington, present historiographer of the Church and associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, began his researches in the S. P. G. documents as transcribed for the Library of Congress. The pages of the Magazine, beginning with its very first volume, testify to the diligence and fruitfulness of his work, interrupted only by his years of service as a chaplain with the rank of commander in the U. S. Navy during World War II. Very appropriately, therefore, we begin Volume XX of the Magazine with his illuminating essay, "The S. P. G. Anniversary Sermons, 1702-1783."

In 1930, Professor Frank J. Klingberg, of the University of California, Los Angeles, and an associate editor of the Magazine also, began his analysis of the vast archives of the S. P. G.

"Dr. Klingberg's unique contribution has been to devise methods to organize and then to interpret these materials from the social, economic, political, and cultural points of view."<sup>3</sup>

Professor Klingberg, besides his own signal contributions, has raised up a remarkable group of younger scholars, most of whom have been working in the field of the S. P. G. archives—some 200,000 documents in all. Six of them, under Dr. Klingberg's editorship, will be represented by essays in the June, 1951, number of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, which will be entirely given over to commemorating the 250th anniversary of the Venerable Society.

We congratulate the Venerable Society on its notable quarter of a millennium of history; we thank God for its innumerable benefactions "down the nights and down the days . . . down the arches of the years"; and we hope and pray that it may be permitted, under God, to propagate the gospel in foreign parts for another quarter of a millennium.

WALTER H. STOWE.

<sup>3</sup>See Samuel C. McCullough (ed.), *British Humanitarianism: Essays Honoring Frank J. Klingberg* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1950), p. 4.

## The S. P. G. Anniversary Sermons 1702-1783

By Edgar Legare Pennington\*

**T**HE Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, commonly called the S. P. G., was founded in 1701 because of the sincere conviction that the promoting of the Christian religion in the British foreign plantations should be effected in as systematic and as thorough a way as possible. Doctor Thomas Bray (1656-1730) had returned from his short visit to America in 1700 with unhappy impressions regarding the work of the English Church in the colonies and with very pronounced ideas as to the improvement of the missionary effort. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, commonly called the S. P. C. K., had already been organized through his influence, with the definite design of "fixing Parochial Libraries throughout the Plantations (especially on the Continent of North America"; but that institution had not been extended to the employment of missionaries. At the meeting of the S. P. C. K. on May 5, 1701, "the Draught of a Charter for the Erecting a Corporation for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts was read"; and a week later Doctor Bray's petition for constituting "a Body Politick and Corporate" for carrying out the aforesaid aims was brought before the body.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—the S. P. G.—was chartered on June 16, 1701; the first meeting was held on the 27th of the same month at Lambeth Palace, with the archbishop of Canterbury presiding; a seal was devised and by-laws and standing orders adopted on July 8th; and the great benevolent Society entered upon its active career.<sup>1</sup> On August 15th, the Society entered on an enquiry into the religious state of the colonies; and information was sought from trustworthy persons at home and abroad. On October 17th, progress was made towards raising a fund for the mighty enterprise.<sup>2</sup>

At the second meeting of the Society, which was held at the Cockpit, July 8, 1701, a standing order was made, "that there be a Sermon preachd

\*Dr. Pennington is historiographer of the Episcopal Church and associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.—Editor's note.

<sup>1</sup>*Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892*, London, 1893, pp. 3-7.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.

before the Society on the third Friday in every February, and that the Preacher and Place be appointed by the President." From 1702 to 1853 (excepting 1703, 1843, and 1849, when the sermons were not printed), those discourses formed part of the Annual Reports. Throughout the whole American colonial period, the sermons were delivered at the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow.<sup>3</sup> The importance of these sermons has hardly been appreciated by students of the S. P. G., for there has been an inclination to concentrate on the endeavors and industry of the Society in its widespread field. It should be borne in mind, however, that those very sermons were attended by influential prelates and churchmen, on whom devolved the major responsibility of supporting the efforts of the Society, and, furthermore, that the speakers who addressed the annual gatherings had a tremendous part in shaping the policies of the organization.

A review of the yearly sermons indicates that some of the preachers perhaps reflected rather than inspired the missionary effort. Some of the sermons might have been preached on other occasions just as appropriately as before assemblies which were confronted by a lively challenge. This is not said in disparagement, as the sermons were all of a high standard, couched in the most polished language, and all show genuine sincerity and a sense of obligation. Occasionally the speakers betrayed their prejudices; there was sometimes manifest the fear lest the Romanizers or the dissenters would usurp the place which rightly belonged to the Anglican Establishment. Yet, on the whole, the preachers disclosed an intelligent comprehension of the needs of the Church beyond the seas, and they did not hesitate to make specific and constructive suggestions as to the conduct of the enterprise of evangelization. Printed and widely distributed, the annual sermons wielded considerable influence.

#### THE FIRST AND SECOND SERMONS, 1702, 1703

The first anniversary sermon was preached in February, 1702, by Dr. Richard Willis,<sup>4</sup> then dean of Lincoln. One of the original pro-

<sup>3</sup>*Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892*. London, 1893, p. 833.

<sup>4</sup>RICHARD WILLIS (1664-1734), son of William Willis, a journeyman tanner, and his wife Susanna. Baptized at Ribbesford in Worcestershire, Feb. 16, 1664. Educated at Bewdley free grammar school. Matriculated from Wadham College, Oxford, 1684; B. A., 1688. Fellow of All Souls' College. D. D. at Lambeth, March 27, 1695. 1692: lecturer of St. Clement's, Strand, where he became well known as a preacher. Accompanied William III to Holland as a chaplain. 1695: prebendary of Westminster. 1701: dean of Lincoln. Aug. 23, 1705: preached before the queen on the thanksgiving day for the success of the duke of Marlborough in the Spanish Netherlands. Dec. 10, 1714: elected bishop of Glou-

moters of the S. P. C. K., that eminent preacher had a keen perception of the possibilities of the new Society; and he very clearly outlined its purpose as he understood it:

"The design is, in the first place, to settle the State of Religion as well as may be among our *own people* there, which, by all accounts we have, very much wants their Pious care; and then to proceed to the best Methods they can towards the *Conversion* of the *Natives*. . . . The *Breeding up* of Persons to understand the great variety of Languages of those Countries in order to be able to *converse* with the Natives, and Preach the Gospel to them . . . this is very great *Charity*, indeed the greatest Charity we can show; it is Charity to the *Souls* of men, to the Souls of a great many of our own people in those Countries who by this may be reformed, and put in a better way for Salvation by the use of the means of Grace which in many places they very much want, but especially this may be a great Charity to the Souls of many of those *poor Natives* who may by this be converted from that state of *Barbarism* and *Idolatry*, in which they now live, and be brought into the Sheep-fold of our blessed Saviour."<sup>2</sup>

First, Dr. Willis suggested, the colonists' religious needs should be regarded; next, the natives'. The latter would require an understanding of the Indian tongues. The eminent preacher had something specific to propose to his hearers.

Eight years later, however, there was an official declaration of a different policy on the part of the Society. Then it was laid down that that branch of the Society's design which related to the conversion of heathens and infidels ought to be prosecuted preferably to all others. This was contrary to Dr. Willis' proclamation that the first design of the S. P. G. was to settle the state of religion among the British people, and then to proceed to the conversion of the natives. On April 28, 1710, the Society agreed to a resolution,

"That the design of propagating the Gospel in foreign parts does chiefly and principally relate to the conversion of heathens and infidels; and therefore that branch of it ought to be prosecuted preferably to all others.

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chester. Jan. 16, 1715: consecrated bishop in Lambeth Chapel. On the commission for building 50 new churches in and around London. Jan. 20, 1715: preached before King George I on "The Way of Stable and Quiet Times." 1717: appointed lord almoner. Nov. 21, 1721: translated to see of Salisbury. Nov. 21, 1723: Translated to see of Winchester. Died suddenly at Winchester House, Chelsea, Aug. 10, 1734. Buried in the south aisle of Winchester Cathedral. Left two sons.—[Thomas Seecombe, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, XXI, 491-492.]

<sup>2</sup>S. P. G. Anniversary Sermon, 1702, pp. 18-19.



"That in consequence thereof, immediate care be taken to send itinerant Missionaries to preach the Gospel among the Six Nations of the Indians, according to the primary intention of the late King William of glorious memory.

"That a stop be put to the sending any more Missionaries among other Christians, except to such places whose Ministers are or shall be dead, or removed; and unless it may consist with the funds of the Society to prosecute such designs."<sup>6</sup>

This exclusive policy was not adhered to; nevertheless, the Society throughout its history sought to convert the heathen as well as to make provision for the Christian colonists.<sup>7</sup>

The conversion of both Negroes and Indians was the principal subject emphasized by Bishop William Lloyd of Worcester, the anniversary preacher the following year. The S. P. G. missionaries were deeply distressed by the attitude of the white masters towards the spiritual welfare of their slaves. It was difficult to persuade the slave-owners to permit their servants to receive Christian baptism, since they feared lest the Christian rite would involve manumission. Sad to relate, worldly interests were dominant.

#### THE SERMON OF BISHOP FLEETWOOD, 1711

A high sense of honor and Christian duty was promulgated in the utterances of Dr. William Fleetwood,<sup>8</sup> bishop of St. Asaph, who delivered the anniversary sermon on February 16, 1711. A man of wide

<sup>6</sup>S. P. G. Journal, vol. I, Apr. 28, 1710.

<sup>7</sup>*Classified Digest*, *supra*, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup>WILLIAM FLEETWOOD (1656-1723), son of Captain Geoffrey Fleetwood and Anne Smith; nephew of James Fleetwood (1603-1683), bishop of Worcester. Born in the Tower of London, Jan. 1, 1656. Attended Eton. Nov. 27, 1675; elected scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Became a fellow. B. A., 1679; M. A., 1683; D. D., 1705. Nov. 25, 1689: preached at the commemoration of Henry VI, founder of King's College Chapel. This sermon won him celebrity, being admired as "a perfect model and pattern of that kind of performance." Speedily became one of the most celebrated preachers of the day. Often appointed to preach before the royal family, Parliament, and various public bodies. "A sweet voice and graceful delivery commended . . . the sound sense and fervent piety of his sermons" (p. 269). Antiquarian; collected pagan and Christian inscriptions, which he annotated and published as *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Sylloge* (1691). 1701: *An Essay on Miracles*. 1707: *Chronicon Pretiosum*, a book valuable for its research on the value of money and the price of corn and other commodities for the previous six centuries. A zealous Whig; ardent friend of the revolution and of the Hanoverian succession. Chaplain to King William III. 1702: canon at Windsor. Fellow at Eton. Rector of St. Augustine's and St. Faith's (1689). Lecturer of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. 1705: exchanged his London preferments for the living of Wexham, Buckinghamshire, where he devoted much of his time to historical and antiquarian studies. Consecrated bishop of St. Asaph, June 8, 1708; Queen Anne

reading and of accurate learning, he was at the same time independent and courageous. It was said of him that "his fulfilment of the duties of the episcopate rose much above the standard of the age, and overcame the prejudice with which he was at first regarded by the clergy"; and that "his conciliatory manners, unblemished life, and high reputation secured respect in a Diocese where party animosities were unusually strong."<sup>9</sup> "Few bishops have left a more unspotted reputation behind them."

Bishop Fleetwood expressed grave concern over those who profess themselves Christ's servants, yet exclude their fellow-beings from the benefits of religion:

"What do these People think of *Christ*? What of their *Slaves*? What of *themselves*? What do they think of *Christ*? That He who came from Heaven, to purchase to Himself a Church, with His own precious Blood, should sit contented, and behold with unconcern, those who profess themselves His Servants, excluding from its Gates those who would gladly enter if they might, and exercise no less Cruelty to their Souls . . . than to their Bodies?"

Those unhappy creatures, said Bishop Fleetwood, are—

"endued with the same Faculties, and intellectual Powers; Bodies of the same Flesh and Blood, and Souls as certainly immortal; These People were made to be as Happy as themselves, and are as capable of being so; and however hard their Condition be in this World, with respect to their Captivity and Subjection, they were to be as Just and Honest, as Chast and Virtuous, as Godly and Religious as themselves; They were bought with the same Price, purchased with the same Blood of Christ, their common Saviour and Redeemer; and in order to all this, they were to have the Means of Salvation put into their Hands, they were to be instructed in the Faith of *Christ*, to have the Terms and Conditions fairly offered and proposed to them.

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called him "my bishop," attended his sermons, and favored him till her death in spite of his outspoken Whiggism. His courageous attack on the Jacobite tendencies of the government was punished. Four of his sermons gave offense; and the House of Commons resolved that the preface be burnt by the common hangman. It was at once issued as No. 304 of the *Spectator*. Nov. 19, 1714: elected bishop of Ely. Assiduous in discharging his duties, in spite of his years. Died at Tottenham, near London, Aug. 4, 1723; buried in the north choir aisle of Ely Cathedral.—[Edmund Venables, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, VII, 269-271.]

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 271.



"Let any of these cruel Masters tell us, what part of all these Blessings were not intended for their unhappy Slaves by God. . . . What Account then, will these Masters give of *themselves*, who are the Occasion and the Instruments of bringing these unhappy People, from a Country where the *Name of Christ* is never heard, or call'd upon, into a Country where *Christians* govern all, and *Christ* is call'd their *Lord and Master*, and yet will not permit these Slaves to be Instructed . . . ?"<sup>10</sup>

To the "Pretences" that baptism would free the slaves, and that, "should their Slaves continue Slaves after their Baptism, yet they should be oblig'd to use them with *less Rigour*," and that, "since they bought their Slaves for Money, they should be Losers by permitting them to be made Christians, since after that they could not part with them for Money, it being . . . Unlawful to sell Christians," the good bishop opposed humanitarian arguments which are obvious to an enlightened generation."<sup>11</sup>

#### THE SERMON OF DEAN KENNETT, 1712

The next anniversary sermon was preached by Dr. White Kennett,<sup>12</sup> at that time dean of Peterborough, and a scholar and historian of parts. Dean Kennett gave something of a topical analysis of the situation. The Spaniards had cruelly exploited the native Indians and aroused their ill will; thus they had imposed an obstacle to their conversion. The Englishmen, on the other hand, with their characteristic human dealings, would be able to accomplish good results for Christ and His Church, if they faced their opportunity intelligently, industriously, and consistently.

<sup>10</sup>S. P. G. Abstract and Sermon, 1711, pp. 15-16.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 19-26.

<sup>12</sup>WHITE KENNETT (1660-1728), son of Basil Kennett, M. A., rector of Dimchurch and vicar of Postling, Kent, and Mary, eldest daughter of Thomas White, a wealthy magistrate and shipwright of Dover. Early schooling at Elham and Wye, at Winchester, and at Beakshourne. June, 1678: entered as a batler or semi-commoner of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford. While at Oxford, published an anonymous pamphlet which caused the Whig party much concern. Collected epitaphs and notices of eminent Oxford men. B. A., May 2, 1682. 1683: published a version of Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium*. Commenced M. A., Jan. 22, 1684. Curate and assistant to Samuel Blackwell, B. D., vicar and schoolmaster of Bicester, Oxfordshire. Sept., 1685: vicar of Ambrosden. 1686: published a panegyric, avowing his loyalty to King James II. His political views quickly modified by his dislike of the king's ecclesiastical policy. He preached a series of discourses against "Popery"; refused to read the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* in 1688; rejected an address to the king recommended by Bishop Samuel Parker (1640-1688) of Oxford, along with the majority of the clergy of Oxford. Openly supported the revolution. In Jan., 1689, while shooting, his gun burst and fractured his skull. He was obliged to wear a large black patch of velvet on his

"The first mighty Let and Impediment in planting this Gospel amidst any Heathen Country," said Dean Kennett in his sermon before the Society, "would be the affecting Conquest, and usurping Temporal Dominion, rather than enlarging the Kingdom of Christ."<sup>12</sup> After reviewing the acts of the Spanish explorers and conquistadors, and their inhumane treatment of the natives, he declared that, by contrast, "the soft and salutary Methods of Conversion, taken by this Society, are of a more Christian Nature; . . . far from breathing out any Threatenings, or any Slaughter, any Conquest or Slavery of the People of the Land." The English people must always deal with the Indians "upon the Laws of Nations, and the most amicable Rules of the Gospel."<sup>14</sup>

The mercenary and greed practices of the English settlers, he regarded as "the second Let and Impediment in planting the Gospel." The planters must avoid "driving on a Trade, and merely secular interest and Gain, instead of seeking the Glory of God and the Good of Souls."<sup>15</sup> In that particular his own countrymen had erred:

"We cannot boast, that all our Protestant Brethren, or all our fellow Subjects, are clearly Innocent of these sordid shameful Crimes. Too many Complaints have been made, that some of our Planters have formerly obstructed the Conversion of their Slaves, from a strange Suspicion that they would be then of less Value to them. And that some of our Traders among the remoter Indians, have artfully incited them to Wars and Battles, that after a victory on either Side, they might purchase Slaves in greater Numbers and at easier Rates."<sup>16</sup>

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forehead the rest of his life. Returned to Oxford. Lecturer of St. Martin's, commonly called Carfax, Oxford. Appointed a public lecturer in the schools. Pro-rector for two successive years. B. D., May 5, 1694. Presented to the rectory of Shottesbrook, Berkshire, Feb., 1695. D. D., July 19, 1700. Installed in the prebend of Combe and Harnham in the church of Salisbury, Feb. 15, 1701. Developed historical and antiquarian interests. Studied Anglo-Saxon and northern tongues under Dr. George Hickes (1642-1715), afterwards non-juring bishop of Thetford. May 15, 1701: archdeacon of Huntingdon. Appointed one of the original members of S. P. G. on Archbishop Tenison's recommendation. Some of his sermons aroused violent criticism and opposition. Accused of undue adulation. 1707: resigned St. Botolph's, Aldgate, which he had held since 1700. for the more leisurely but less remunerative rectory of St. Mary Aldermay, London. Published numerous sermons and partisan papers. Involved in controversy. To advance the interests of S. P. G., he made a collection of books, charts, maps, and documents, which he presented to the corporation. July 25, 1713: installed prebendary of Farrendon-cum-Balderton at Lincoln. Preached against the rebellion of 1715. Nov. 9, 1718: consecrated bishop of Peterborough. Died, Dec. 19, 1728, at his house in St. James' Street, Westminster; buried in Peterborough Cathedral. Married three times; had children.—[Thompson Cooper, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, pp. 2-6.]

<sup>12</sup>S. P. G. Abstract and Sermon, 1712, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 15.

An unselfish and disinterested motive should characterize the Society's efforts towards the evangelization of the benighted peoples:

"We Labour and Pray for the Success of our Labours, expecting no other Returns, but our Acceptance with God, and our Reward in Heaven."<sup>17</sup>

"Our practising Injustice, Fraud, and Oppression, instead of providing things Honest in the sight of those Heathens we labour to Convert," was declared to be "a Third Hindrance of the Gospel."<sup>18</sup> At least in this matter there had been no duplicity on the part of the Society:

"It is some matter of Comfort, that We of this Corporation have acted with no cunning Craftiness of any kind, nor have We laid in wait to deceive one Soul. . . . We have given no secret Instructions to our Missionaries. . . . Neither our own People in those Parts, nor their *African* Slaves, nor their *Indian* Neighbours, have ought to accuse us of; at least we have given no just Offence to the Gentiles there, nor to the Church of God."<sup>19</sup>

"The Fourth Hindrance in Converting the Gentiles to the Gospel of Christ," said Dr. Kennett, "is the exercising of Force and Cruelty, instead of the gentle persuading and convincing of them."<sup>20</sup> Here the preacher dealt at length with the methods employed by "Roman bigots," by which whole islands had been depopulated, women and children maimed and hanged and burnt, and cities and countries laid desolate with fire and sword. On the other hand, he said,

"Our Missionaries are charg'd to preach Peace and Love; to exhort Masters to be gentle to their Slaves; and all our People to be kind and courteous to the Natives, as knowing that Charity and Compassion will most effectually promote the Gospel of Christ."<sup>21</sup>

In condemning the Spaniards, the eloquent dean did not fail to warn the English people of their own moral responsibility. "The fifth and last way . . . of hindering the Gospel among the Pagans," he declared, "is our setting an ill Example of Looseness and Prophaneness, so to make our Preaching vain."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup>S. P. G. Abstract and Sermon, 1712, pp. 16-17.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 27.

## THE SERMON OF DEAN STANHOPE, 1714

In 1714, the emphasis was again placed on the Christians' obligation to their Negro slaves. A number of missionaries' letters had aroused the conscience of the Society's members to the all too prevalent habit of placing economic interests above the welfare of the poor dependents' souls. Dr. George Stanhope<sup>23</sup> saw fit to reiterate old arguments, which still were needed in the face of persistent abuses. The masters, he noted, were careful that the bodies of the Negro slaves should have due attention, in order that they might render effective service to their owners.

"Is it not fit, their Souls should be taken Care of, for their own (benefit)? Is it nothing to you, that they are created by the same God, formed of the same Flesh and Blood, descended from the same common Ancestor, endued with the same Souls, the same Capacities of immortal Happiness? . . . They also are redeemed by the same Precious Ransom. Birth and Fortune, Climate and Complexion, Barbarism and Servitude, are only Circumstantial Differences; such as ought not to be made too great Reckoning of, when the Essential parts continue the same. A good Man will find but too much Ground for Grief and Pity, but none at all for Neglect, Comment, or inhuman Treatment, even in the meanest and most abject of his own Species."<sup>24</sup>

Needless to say, the Society's missionaries in the colonies diligently urged their affluent parishioners to recognize their Christian stewardship, so far as their slaves were concerned. References to this vicious neglect become rarer as the years go by; in fact, there are frequent allusions to the baptism of the Negroes in the subsequent reports.

Dean Stanhope's interest, it may be added, was not confined to the African slaves. He was compelled to announce that the propagation of Christianity among the Indians had met with disheartening obstacles;

<sup>23</sup>GEORGE STANHOPE (1660-1728), son of Thomas Stanhope (rector of Hartshorn or Hertishorn, vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester) and a lady of good family in Derbyshire named Allestree. Born March 5, 1660, at Hartshorn. Educated at Uppingham school, Leicester, and Eton. Attended King's College, Cambridge. B. A., 1681; M. A., 1685. 1688: rector of Tewin, Hertfordshire. Aug. 3, 1689: rector of Lewisham, Kent. D. D., 1697. Boyle lecturer, 1701. 1707: vicar of Deptford. 1708: royal chaplain, under Queen Anne. 1704: dean of Canterbury. This brought him into the lower House of Convocation, at a period of bitter conflict between the Houses. 1713: prolocutor. One of the great preachers of his time. Died at Bath, March 18, 1728. Buried in the church at Lewisham. Twice married; had children. His literary works chiefly translations or adaptations, sermons, and works of divinity.—[Henry Leigh Bennett, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, XVIII, 897-899.]

<sup>24</sup>S. P. G. Abstract and Sermon, 1714, pp. 23-24.

yet he believed that "by long time, much pains, and patient prudence," much would be accomplished. In the words of the Apostle to the Gentiles, "charity hopeth all things, and endureth all things."<sup>25</sup>

### THE SERMON OF BISHOP BISSE, 1718

An effective aid towards the missionaries' endeavors in the planting of schools and the sending of teachers was proposed by Bishop Philip Bisse,<sup>26</sup> of Hereford, in the anniversary sermon of 1718. Dr. Bisse was a man of piety and sincerity, with practical ideas for achieving his objectives, and he had won a reputation for benevolence. We are told that he was a person "of great sanctity and sweetness of manners; of clear honour, integrity, and steadiness in all times to the constitution of the Church and State; of excellent parts, judgment, and penetration, in most kinds of learning, and of equal discernment and temper in business; a great benefactor to his cathedral church, and especially to his palace, which last he in a manner rebuilt."<sup>27</sup> He was not discouraged by the evidently small returns which the missionaries had reported as a result of the extensive efforts spent in propagating the gospel in foreign parts:

"We make it a part of our present Care, to instruct the savage *Indians* in the Principles of our Holy Religion; but it may be, that, in future Ages, the good Providence of *God* will vouchsafe, from this Grain of Mustard-seed, to raise a shelter for those, that, on that side of the world also, are heavily oppressed with the *Romish* Tyranny; and make our holy Mother become there at least . . . the Standard of the Reformation."<sup>28</sup>

After discussing the great want and pressing occasion for the charitable undertaking of the Society, Bishop Bisse proceeded to the consideration of the methods which should be employed. Our present business, he said, is "only to lay foundations; it will require Ages to perfect the superstructure, but it would be building in the air, not to begin wholly with these."

<sup>25</sup>S. P. G. Abstract and Sermon, 1714, p. 25.

<sup>26</sup>PHILIP BISSE (1677-1721). Born at Oldbury in Gloucestershire. Educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford. B. A., 1690; M. A., 1693; B. D. and D. D., 1705. Elected a fellow of the Royal Society, Feb. 13, 1706. Nov. 19, 1710: consecrated bishop of St. David's. Feb. 16, 1713: translated to see of Hereford. Died at Westminster, Sept. 6, 1721. Buried in his cathedral between two pillars above the episcopal throne, under a sumptuous marble monument. A fine preacher. Married.—[Thompson Cooper, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, II, 560.]

<sup>27</sup>Abel Boyer, *Political State of Great Britain*, XXII, 329.

<sup>28</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1718, pp. 8-9.

"Indeed, when we have laid the foundations, our Work, from this side, will be nearly done. The People there must be induced to think of finishing it themselves."<sup>29</sup>

One of the principal methods should be the erecting of schools, "to initiate the growing Generation in the Elements of all that is useful in human life." And catechists must be sent as well, "to instruct them in the grounds of saving Knowledge."<sup>30</sup> There must be erected "a Seat of learning there."<sup>31</sup>

In the course of his proposals, Dr. Bisse broached upon a suggestion which was destined in succeeding years to involve the Church of England, both at home and abroad, in much heated and painful controversy—the importance of local ecclesiastical supervision:

"(We must establish) proper Governors upon the place, who upon all emergencies may inspect the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this wide Province; and be ever at hand to exercise such spiritual Discipline, as hath in all Ages been found necessary for the government of the Church of Christ."<sup>32</sup>

#### THE INFLUENCE OF BISHOP GIBSON OF LONDON

Though never one of the anniversary preachers, Dr. Edmund Gibson,<sup>33</sup> bishop of London, was active in the work of the Society, and contributed his eloquence and pen to promoting its philanthropic endeavors. In the year 1727, the attitude of the colonial slave owners towards the spiritual nurture of their dependents was still so critical that Bishop Gibson felt constrained to press home upon the masters their obligations to promote the conversion and instruction of their Negro slaves in three discourses:

<sup>29</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1718, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>33</sup>EDMUND GIBSON (1669-1748), son of Edmund Gibson of Knipe and Jane Langhame. Baptized at Bampton, Westmoreland, Dec. 19, 1668. Educated at the free grammar school there. 1686: admitted as a "poor serving child" at Queen's College, Oxford. B. A., June 25, 1691. Started writing early; interested in Anglo-Saxon studies. Edited and translated Latin classics. A renowned scholar. M. A., Feb. 21, 1695. Domestic chaplain to Archbishop Tenison, and librarian of Lambeth. Lecturer of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; rector of Stisted (1700); rector of Lambeth (1703). 1710: archdeacon of Surrey. 1716: consecrated bishop of Lincoln. 1720: translated to London. Declined archbishopric of Canterbury in 1747. Died at Bath, Sept. 6, 1748. Had 12 children.—[G. G. Perry, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, VII, 1152-1153.]



"An Address to serious Christians among ourselves, to assist the Society in carrying on the Work of instructing Negroes in our Plantations abroad."

"A Letter to the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the *English Plantations*, exhorting them to encourage and promote the Instruction of their Negroes in the Christian Faith."

"A Letter to the Missionaries there; directing them to distribute the said Letter, and exhorting them to give their Assistance towards the Instruction of the Negroes within their several Parishes."

Several thousands of these papers were distributed, with such good effect that a "Fund for the Instruction of Negroes" was raised by the contributions of well-disposed persons, and appropriated by the Society for that purpose. By 1740, it consisted of £1,600 of stock in Old South-Sea Annuities, and £890 lent to the general account of the Society at four per cent. The Abstract of the Society for that year commented with gratification on the results:

"And some thousands of Negroes have been taught, and persuaded to embrace the Truth, as it is in Jesus Christ. The attentive Reader must observe frequent Mention of the Baptisms of Negroes, in the Letters of the Missionaries."<sup>84</sup>

#### THE SERMON OF DEAN BERKELEY, 1732

Of all the able and earnest prelates and scholars who addressed the S. P. G. at the annual meetings at St. Mary-le-Bow, none could speak with greater authority than Dean George Berkeley<sup>85</sup> of Londonderry, who, on February 18, 1732, bore witness to his personal observations during three years' residence in America. Before the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, his attention had been drawn to the

<sup>84</sup>S. P. G. Abstract, 1740, pp. 66-67.

<sup>85</sup>GEORGE BERKELEY (1685-1753), son of William Berkeley—his mother's name unknown. Born March 12, 1685, at "Kilcrin" or "Killerin," or at Dysert Castle near Thomastown in the county of Kilkenny. Entered Kilkenny School. March 21, 1700; matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin. Scholar, 1702: B. A., 1704: M. A., 1707. Admitted as a fellow. B. D. and D. D., 1721. In 1705, he formed with a few friends a society for the discussion of the "new philosophy." 1709: *Essay towards a New Theory of Vision*. 1710: *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*. 1713: *Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* (said to be "the finest specimen in our language of the conduct of argument by dialogue"). Promoted to various college offices. Went to England (1713); and became associated with Steele, Addison, Pope, and Arbuthnot. Travelled on the continent. May, 1724: appointed dean of Derry. Early interested in America, he circulated a proposal (1725) for a college in the new world. June, 1725: secured a charter for a college for the education of the planters' children, which he designed to

new world. In a proposal, circulated in 1725, he stated that religion had declined amongst the American colonists for want of a proper supply of clergymen. The Negroes had been left without instruction and denied baptism; the conversion of the savage natives had not been attempted. At the same time, he said, Protestantism was losing ground in Europe, whilst in America the progress made by the French and the Spanish was spreading the religion of Rome through the Indian races, a process which "would probably end in the utter extirpation of our colonies." The foundation of a college for the education of the planters' children and of the young savages who might be trained as missionaries, would meet these evils.

A college had already been projected in Barbadoes by General Christopher Codrington (1668-1710), who had died there and had left his estates in trust for this purpose to the S. P. G.<sup>80</sup> Dean Berkeley thought that the Bermudas were better fitted for the purpose, from the temperate climate, the greater frugality and simplicity of the colonists, and the central situation. About May, 1722, he had definitely resolved to devote himself to the Bermuda project. Soon after his appointment to the deanery of Derry, he set out for London to prepare for carrying out his plans. In June, 1725, the charter for the proposed college passed the seals. Berkeley was named its first president. The new body was to consist of a president and nine fellows. Although subscriptions were received, there were long and tiresome delays and various obstructions.

Berkeley sailed from Greenwich, September 4, 1728; and landed in Newport, Rhode Island, in January, 1729. He remained in America

erect in Bermuda. Sept. 4, 1728: sailed from Greenwich. Jan., 1729: landed in Newport, R. I. Remained in America till the autumn of 1731. There he built a house; and read, meditated, wrote, and conversed with the more intelligent and educated colonists. Helped to found a philosophical society at Newport. Meetings of Anglican clergymen were held at his house. Preached frequently. Despairing of obtaining the money promised for his college, he sailed from Boston at the end of 1731, and reached London, Feb., 1732. Showed his continued interest in America by donating his farm at Whitehall, in Rhode Island, for establishing scholarships at Yale. Presented nearly 1,000 volumes to Yale, as well as books to Harvard and an organ to Trinity Church, Newport. Remained in London till the spring of 1734. May 19, 1734: consecrated bishop of Cloyne in St. Paul's Church, Dublin. Spent the next 18 years at Cloyne. 1736: *A Discourse addressed to Magistrates, occasioned by the enormous License and irreligion of the Times*, advocating the active support of religion by the government. Other tracts and writings followed. Practiced frugality and great benevolence. He distributed £20 every Monday morning among the poor of Cloyne during the severe winter of 1739-1740. Became interested in medicines and therapeutics. One of the greatest of English philosophers. Some 24 major publications are listed. Retired in 1752. Died Jan. 14, 1753, at Oxford; buried in Christ Church. His widow survived him 33 years.—[Leslie Stephens, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, II, 348-356.]

<sup>80</sup>See Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *Codrington Chronicle: An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710-1834* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).



till the autumn of 1731. On a farm of 96 acres which he purchased, he built a small house called "Whitehall." There he read, meditated, and wrote much of *Alciphron*; likewise he saw a great deal of the intelligent and educated colonists. Among them he helped establish a philosophical society at Newport. The Anglican clergymen held meetings at his house, and he talked over their problems with them and learned their needs at first hand. His sermons were attended by men of all persuasions. Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), S. P. G. missionary at Stratford, Connecticut, able writer and controversialist, and afterwards the first head of King's College in New York, as one of those with whom Berkeley formed a close friendship. After returning to England, Berkeley kept up a lively interest in the colonies.

Dean Berkeley's anniversary sermon before the Society was given only a few days after he arrived from the colonies; on the whole, it was quite specific. He dealt at first with the obligations which Christians lie under of bringing other men to the knowledge of the only true God and of Jesus Christ; next he considered the same as the function of the S. P. G. He dwelt at length upon Rhode Island, which he knew so well, and upon the Indians and the Negroes there. The missionaries of the Society were commended for "their Sobriety of Manners, discreet Behaviour, and a competent Degree of Useful Knowledge."<sup>27</sup> Their efforts, however, were handicapped by the ungodliness and limitations which prevailed at home, and by the failure of the British people to believe strongly in the power of God.

"If we proportioned our Zeal to the Importance of Things: If we could love Men whose Opinions we do not approve: If we knew the World more, and liked it less: If we had a due Sense of the Divine Perfection and our own Defect: If our chief Study was the Wisdom from above, described by *St. Paul*: And if, in order to all this, that were done in Places of Education, which cannot so well be done out of them: I say, if these Steps were taken at home, while proper Measures are carrying on abroad, the one would very much forward or facilitate the other. As it is not meant, so it must not be understood, that foreign Attempts should wait for domestic Success, but only that it is to be wished they may co-operate. Certainly if a just and rational, a genuine and sincere, a warm and vigorous Piety, animated the Mother-Country, the Influence thereof would soon reach our Foreign Plantations, and extend throughout their Borders."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1732, N. S., p. 21.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 33.

## THE SERMON OF BISHOP SMALBROKE, 1733

Dr. Richard Smallbroke,<sup>39</sup> bishop of Lichfield, the anniversary preacher of February 16, 1733, advocated schools and colleges for the new world and a study of the native languages on the part of the missionaries. He feared that Christian instruction would be in a great measure lost upon the American Indians, however, "till they are first Civilized, and previously taught the Arts of Humanity."<sup>40</sup>

"The first Step therefore to be taken in order to the Conversion of such a wild sort of People, is to introduce among them some Knowledge of the Conveniences of a Regular Life. They are to be taught the common introductory parts of Learning, before any great Progress can reasonably be expected in the Conversion of such ignorant People to Christianity. Not only more *Schools* are therefore to be opened, but more *Colleges* are to be erected, and Professorships, more especially of History, Geography, and Chronology, are to be endowed, if we would effectually propagate good Manners and true Religion among them. And indeed, the Missionaries that are most likely to be successful in propagating the Christian Religion among the *Indians*, are such as have cultivated their Languages, and therefore have free Admission among them; or rather, (on account of the tediousness of learning their barbarous Languages) are such of their own Countrymen, and of the same Languages with themselves, as might be prevailed with to be civilized in Schools and Colleges, and who, after having learned not only Human Arts, but Christianity there, should return into their respective Countries, and instruct their Brethren in them with greater Advantages than we can pretend to."<sup>41</sup>

Another method of propagating the faith among the Indians, said Bishop Smallbroke, is through "the Sanctity of the lives of our Missionaries there."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup>RICHARD SMALBROKE (1672-1749), son of Samuel Smallbroke of Bowlington, Warwickshire, and Elizabeth his wife. Born at 19 High Street, Birmingham, 1672. Matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, June 15, 1688. Elected demy of Magdalen College in 1689, when Joseph Addison was elected. B. A., 1692; M. A., Jan. 26, 1695; fellow, 1698; B. D., Jan. 27, 1707; D. D., 1708. In 1709, appointed chaplain to Archbishop Tenison of Canterbury. 1709-1712: rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk. 1710: canon of Hereford. 1711: vicar of Lugwardine, Herefordshire. 1712: last treasurer of Llandaff. 1716: rector of Withington, Gloucestershire. Engaged in theological controversy. 1724: consecrated bishop of St. David's. An active prelate; he mastered the Welsh language. 1731: translated to Coventry and Lichfield. Died Dec. 22, 1749; buried in Lichfield Cathedral. Left 3 sons and 4 daughters. Several publications.—[Alexander Gordon, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, XVIII, 380-381.]

<sup>40</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1733, p. 38.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 42.

## THE SERMON OF BISHOP BENSON, 1740

In the anniversary sermon of 1740, Bishop Martin Benson,<sup>43</sup> of Gloucester, used the background of history in developing his theme. The English colonists had contrasted the purity of their motives with the rapacity of the Spaniards, yet they had succumbed to the temptations of greed to at least a deplorable degree. The opposition to the religious instruction of the Negroes was still sufficiently prevalent to merit the good bishop's condemnation. Lastly, it was recognized that the Church of England was laboring under a handicap in the American plantations because of its fewness of ministers and the absence of direct ecclesiastical supervision. More and more the need of a bishop in the colonies was becoming apparent in the councils of Church.

Bishop Benson was a man universally beloved, and he exemplified his religion in his life. When appointed to the see of Gloucester, he declared that he would accept no higher preferment; and he kept his word, although Gloucester was then one of the poorest of the bishoprics.

In his historical survey, he said, among other things:

"When our Countrymen begun their Intercourse with *America*, and a Colony from hence went to settle there, they declared their *Principal* View to be, not that of Selfish and temporal Advantage, but civilizing and converting the Natives. And had we been but half so active as Christians to propagate our Faith, as we have been industrious as Men to improve our Fortunes in this Part of the World, our Religion had before this Time made a vast Progress there. . . .

"It is a great Reproach to Christianity, to see Men with so much Eagerness, and thro' so many Hazzards, going to these Countries, in order to gain the *Wealth that perisheth*, or sending their Wealth thither in Hopes of having more in Return: And not in the least concern'd to propagate Virtue and Religion there."<sup>44</sup>

Dr. Benson spoke of those who opposed the instruction of the African slaves, "upon a bare Suspicion, lest their being instructed in what re-

<sup>43</sup>MARTIN BENSON (1689-1752), son of the Rev. J. Benson, rector of Cradley, Herefordshire. Born there, Apr. 23, 1689. Educated at the Charterhouse and at Christ Church, Oxford, of which he became a tutor. Travelling on the continent, he became a friend of George Berkeley. Their correspondence continued 30 years. Married a sister of Thomas Secker. 1720-1727: prebendary of Salisbury. 1721: archdeacon of Berkshire. 1724: prebend in Durham Cathedral. 1726: chaplain to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George II). 1727: rector of Bletchley. 1728: D. D. 1735: consecrated bishop of Gloucester. Revived the institution of rural deans; expended considerable sums on the cathedral. Died, Aug. 30, 1752, universally beloved; buried in his cathedral. "Benson belonged to the best type of English prelate of his time." Extolled by Berkeley and by Alexander Pope.—[Richard Garnett, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, II, 258.]

<sup>44</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1740, pp. 18-19.

gards their eternal Interest, should prejudice the little worldly Interests of their Masters"; and he declared that "it is hard to say, whether the Wickedness or the Folly of these Men is greater."<sup>45</sup>

The Roman Church, he said, possessed certain advantages in the sending of missionaries to America. The authority which Rome has over its religious orders furnishes that Church "with endless Numbers to employ; and the Rules of those Orders are such, that they have only to say to any one, *Go, and he goeth* wherever they think fit." Furthermore, the Romanists had their bishops in America, "both to Inspect the Behaviour of their Clergy there, and Ordain proper Persons to the Ministry; by which Means the Expence and Difficulty of sending them over from hence is in a great Measure avoided."<sup>46</sup>

#### THE SERMON OF BISHOP SECKER, 1741

One of the ablest sermons preached before the S. P. G., and one which affords the most comprehensive picture of the problem and the opportunity from the days of the first white settlers, was that delivered on February 20, 1741, by Bishop Benson's brother-in-law, the illustrious Thomas Secker,<sup>47</sup> then bishop of Oxford. Dr. Secker had not en-

<sup>45</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1740, p. 19.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>47</sup>THOMAS SECKER (1793-1768), son of Thomas Secker, a pious dissenter, and . . . Brough, daughter of a village farmer. Born at Sibthorpe, a village in Nottinghamshire, 1798. Educated at a dissenting academy at Attercliffe. Sent in 1710 to study for the dissenting ministry under Samuel Jones (1680?-1719), who kept an academy at Gloucester, then at Tewkesbury. There were 16 pupils. Secker met such fellow-students as Joseph Butler, afterwards bishop of Durham; Isaac Maddox, afterwards bishop of Worcester; Samuel Chandler, nonconformist writer. He was probably sent there partly at the expense of Dr. Isaac Watts. Abandoned his intention to study for the ministry. 1716: began to study medicine. Attended lectures at London and Paris, where he met his lifelong friend and brother-in-law, Martin Benson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester. Dissatisfied with the dissenters. Returned to England. March 7, 1721: M. D. (Leyden). Entered the Church of England. Admitted to Exeter College, Oxford. Dec., 1725: ordered deacon; March 28, 1723: ordained priest. 1724: rector of Houghton-le-Spring. 1725: married Catherine Benson. His knowledge of medicine made him useful to his poor parishioners. Very active as a pastor. June 3, 1727: instituted in London. July, 1732: appointed king's chaplain. Preached before Queen Caroline. May, 1733: rector of St. James', Westminster. D. C. L., Oxford. Jan. 19, 1735: consecrated bishop of Bristol. 1737: bishop of Oxford. 1750: installed dean of St. Paul's. 1758: archbishop of Canterbury. He discharged his duties creditably. Aug. 3, 1768: Died of a caries of the thigh-bone. His wife had died in 1748, leaving no issue. "A favorable specimen of the orthodox 18th century prelate." Had a horror of enthusiasm and deprecated the progress of Methodism; but "alive to its earnestness and piety." He did not persecute its adherents. "On almost all public questions he was on the side of enlightenment and large-hearted charity." Although an Anti-Jacobite, he protested against the persecution of the Scottish Episcopal clergy after the rebellion of 1745. As a writer, distinguished by "plain good sense. The range of his knowledge was wide and deep." Numerous publications.—[John Henry Overton, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, XVII. 1108-1111.]

joyed the privileges of family background or wealth and the early influences of the Church: he was the son of a pious dissenter, who lived on his own small estate, and his mother was the daughter of a village farmer. He had been trained for the dissenting ministry; but in the little academy which he attended, he had made friends with certain fellow-students who were destined for distinguished careers. For some time he had abandoned the thought of the ministry as a vocation, and had given his attention to the study of medicine. While strong in his convictions, he was tolerant and sympathetic. His unusual range of knowledge and his keen intelligence combined to make him one of the eminent prelates of his day.

In his sermon before the Society, Bishop Secker gave at the outset a picture of the earliest American settlers, dwelling upon their indifference to religion:

"The first *European* Inhabitants there, being private Adventurers, neither numerous, nor rich, nor certain of Success, nor unanimous in Belief, established in several Provinces no Form whatever of publick Worship and Instruction. Too many of them carried but little Sense of Christianity abroad with them; A great Part of the rest suffer'd it to wear out gradually; and their Children grew of course to have yet less than they; till in some Countries there were scarce any Footsteps of it left, beyond the mere Name. No Teacher was known, no Religious Assembly held; the Lord's Day distinguished only by more general Dissoluteness; the Sacrament of Baptism not administered for near twenty Years together, nor that of the Lord's Supper for near sixty, amongst many thousands of People, who did not deny the Obligation of these Duties, but lived notwithstanding in a stupid Neglect of them."<sup>48</sup>

To supply the colonists' religious needs, the S. P. G., "in proportion to their own Ability . . . first sent over Missionaries, to perform the Offices of Religion amongst them; then School-masters, to instruct their Children in the Principles of it." Nevertheless "much remains to be done."<sup>49</sup>

The next object of the Society's care was the Negro, whom Bishop Secker described:

"These unhappy Wretches learn, in their Native Country, the grossest Idolatry, and the most savage Dispositions: and then are sold to the best Purchasers; sometimes by their Enemies, who would else put them to Death; sometimes by

<sup>48</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1741, p. 5.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 6.

their nearest Friends, who are either unable or unwilling to maintain them. Their Condition in our Colonies, though it cannot well be worse than it would have been at home, is yet nearly as hard as possible: their Servitude most laborious, their Punishments most severe. And thus many thousands of them spend their whole Days, one Generation after another, undergoing with reluctant Minds continual Toil in this World, and comforted with no Hope of Reward in a better. For it is not to be expected, that Masters, too commonly negligent of Christianity themselves, will take much Pains to teach it their Slaves: whom even the better Part of them are in a great measure habituated to consider, as they do their Cattle, merely with a View to the Profit arising from them. Not a few therefore have openly opposed their Instruction. . . . Others, by obliging them to work on Sundays, to provide themselves Necessaries, leave them neither Time to learn Religion in, nor any Prospect of being able to subsist, if once the Duty of resting on that Day become Part of their Belief. And some, it may be feared, have been averse to their becoming Christians, because, after that, no Pretence will remain for not treating them like Men."<sup>50</sup>

After this scathing indictment of the colonists' social callousness, Bishop Secker turned to another branch of the Society's care—the Indians:

"These consist of various Nations, valuable for some of their Qualities, but immersed in the vilest Superstitions, and engaged in almost perpetual Wars against each other, which they prosecute with Barbarities unheard of amongst the rest of Mankind: implacable in their Resentments, when once provoked; boundless in their Intemperance, when they have Opportunities for it, and at such Times mischievous in the highest Degree; impatient of Labour, to procure themselves the common Conveniences of Life; inhumanely negligent of Persons in Years; and, if Accounts of such Things may be credited, not scrupling to kill and eat their nearest Relations, when the long Expeditions they make, for hunting, or against Enemies, have reduced them to Straits."

Diligent efforts have been made to enlighten and reclaim the natives; but the bishop realized that it was no easy work to convert nations "whose Manners are so uncultivated; whose Languages are so different, so hard to learn, and so little adapted to the Doctrines of Religion; with whom we scarce ever contract Affinities; and who seldom continue long enough in the same Place, to let any good Impressions fix into Habits."

<sup>50</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1741, p. 7.



Nevertheless, such results have come from working with the Mohawks, that "we cannot but hope the rest will be induced, by seeing their Happiness, to follow their Example."<sup>51</sup>

Looking back over the Society's four decades of missionary effort, some real achievement had been effected. In the words of Bishop Secker,

"In less than forty Years, under many Discouragements, and with an Income very disproportionate to the Vastness of the Undertaking, a great deal hath been done; though little Notice may have been taken of it, by Persons unattentive to these things or backward to acknowledge them. Near a hundred Churches have been built: above ten thousand Bibles and Common-Prayers, above a hundred thousand other pious Tracts distributed; great Multitudes, upon the whole, of *Negroes* and *Indians* brought over to the Christian Faith: many numerous Congregations have been set up, which now support the Worship of God at their own Expence, where it was not known before: and seventy Persons are constantly employed, at the Expence of the Society, in the farther Service of the Gospel. All this, we grant, makes but a small Appearance, in a Tract of Land, extending sixteen hundred Miles. But it is an encouraging Specimen, however, of what longer Time and more liberal Assistance may effect."<sup>52</sup>

This admirable summing up of the work of the S. P. G. is of special importance, as it was registered at what may be regarded as the climax of the Society's enterprise in the American colonies. Prior to the 1740's, there had been a steady expansion of the Church of England, vitally fostered by the counsel and support of the Venerable Society; in the years that were to follow, missionaries of high character and great industry would appear in the new world in increasing number, new congregations would be planted, and educational institutions would spring into being, but the Church would find itself involved in tensions and controversy, libelled by its detractors, and overshadowed by the darkening cloud of political resentment.

#### THE SERMON OF BISHOP DRUMMOND, 1754

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the progress of the English Church had aroused considerable apprehension in the minds of the Independents and various dissenting groups which looked upon its growth

<sup>51</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1741, pp. 8-9.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

with disfavor. The prospect of a resident bishop was associated with grim forebodings not only of a tremendous increase in the power, prestige, and numerical strength of the ecclesiastical establishment but also of possible prelatical tyranny. Bitter recriminations found expression in a pamphlet warfare which distracted many clergymen from their equanimity and confused or inflamed the laymen. In the mother country, the seriousness of the situation was recognized; and the Church of England found itself on the defensive in its relations to its far-distant adherents. In the spiritual realm as well as in the political realm, there were contrasting types—those who advocated firm measures with austerity and deep conviction and those who recommended a cautious, conciliatory policy.

The bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Robert Drummond,<sup>53</sup> who preached the anniversary sermon, February 15, 1754, was a nobleman who had received rapid promotion in the Church, and who had enjoyed distinction at court. A man of some excellent qualities and highly respected, he was not in advance of his age. "A good, sensible, practical man of business"; of "noble manners, an engaging disposition, affable and condescending address, a genial and good-humored bearing"; he expressed the hope that "the people would see it to their best interest to enlarge their views and notions, and to unite with the rest of their fellow-

<sup>53</sup>ROBERT HAY DRUMMOND (1711-1776), second son of George Hay, Viscount Dupplin, and Abigail, daughter of Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer. Born, London, Nov. 10, 1711. Attended Westminster School; attracted attention as a youth by his talents, charm, friendliness, and courage. Nov. 25, 1731: B. A., Christ Church, Oxford. Went with his cousin, Thomas, duke of Leeds, on the "grand tour," from which he returned "untainted but much improved." Intended for the army. June 13, 1735: M. A., Christ Church. Read divinity. Ordained. Presented to the family living of Bothal, Northumberland. Appointed a royal chaplain through Queen Caroline in his 25th year. 1739: as heir to his great-grandfather's Perthshire estate, assumed the name and arms of Drummond. Attended George II during the German campaign of 1743; preached the thanksgiving sermon before the king for the victory of Dettingen. Prebend of Westminster. Jan. 9, 1745; B. D. and D. D. (Oxon.). Apr. 24, 1748; consecrated bishop of St. Asaph. The 13 years spent in that see were among the happiest of his life. 1761: translated to Salisbury, where he remained a few months. Oct. 3, 1761: elected archbishop of York. Very highly esteemed as a preacher. Sept. 22, 1761: preached the sermon at the coronation of George III and Queen Charlotte. This sermon pronounced "sensible and spirited," and "free from fulsome panegyrick." He set forth the duties of monarch and subject without flattery or compromise. Became lord high almoner to the young king. He reformed many abuses connected with that office, and is said to have put a stop to the system by which persons of rank and wealth made use of the royal bounty to secure provision for persons having private claims upon them. Exercised considerable influence in the House of Lords. An ardent Whig. Disgusted at the king's change of policy, when indignities were heaped upon leading members of the old Whig party. Retired to his private mansion at Brodsworth in Yorkshire. 1749: married Henrietta Auriol; had a numerous family. Instructed his children himself. Drew up clear and comprehensive chronological tables. Strongly opposed to Calvinism; vehemently denounced enthusiasm; defended "the decent services and rational doctrines of the Church of England" (his words). Made



subjects, in language as well as in government."<sup>54</sup> In his address before the S. P. G., he earnestly urged sincerity and charity, and a better understanding between the competing religious groups. In the last, he evidently voiced the apprehension shared by others of his position.

"No design of propagating Christianity can be carried on upon right Principles," he said, "except it is propagated in sincerity, in charity, and in purity."

"We must preach the Sincere word of God; in full assurance, that it stands in no need of that base alloy, which the inventions of men may mix with it."<sup>55</sup>

"Let all things too be done in Charity," he added; "let not our zeal make us forget to act as men and Christians."

"Some of our large settlements in *America* were made, when the times here were angry; and it is surprising, how soon intolerant practices were exercised by those, who had been driven from hence by the force of them. However, it is surely high time to lay aside these old prejudices and distinctions: and though the passions and interests of mankind will not allow the most sanguine to think, that a general comprehension of Protestants is likely to happen; yet I trust, the Gospel of Peace hath power and efficacy upon all hearts, sufficient to keep up a spirit of Christian Charity in all men."

But the preaching of the missionaries would be nothing worth, unless their lives reflected the precepts which they proclaimed:

"Above all things, we must live according to the Gospel in all Purity, if we think to preach the Gospel effectually. A Missionary must consider himself as set up for publick observation, and subject to the severest scrutiny. . . . His misconduct will not only sully his own reputation . . . but increase the disregard to our Church, to publick worship, to pastoral instruction, and either prejudice weak minds against Religion in general or make them indifferent about it."<sup>56</sup>

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splendid additions to the archiepiscopal palace at Bishopsthorpe. A liberal patron of English artists in an age when the fine arts suffered from neglect. Dec. 10, 1776: died at Bishopsthorpe; buried under the altar of the parish house. Published sermons and a *Letter on Theological Study*. Horace Walpole said he was "a sensible, worldly man, but much addicted to the bottle."—[Edmund Venables, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, VI, 38-40.]

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 39, 40.

<sup>55</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1754, p. 25.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*

## THE SERMON OF BISHOP CORNWALLIS, 1756

Dr. Frederick Cornwallis,<sup>57</sup> bishop of Lichfield, preached the anniversary sermon of February 20, 1756. Of noble birth, he was a man of lovable disposition and of becoming humility. William Cole (1714-1782), the Cambridge antiquary, said:

"(He) was my schoolfellow and contemporary at the University, where no one was more beloved, or bore a better character than he did all the time of his residence therein."

Though inferior in learning to many of his predecessors in the see of Canterbury, to which he was promoted in 1768, he was much respected and beloved. Affable and courteous, "from the instant he entered (the walls of Lambeth Palace), the invidious distinction of a separate table for the chaplains was abolished; and they always sat at the same board with himself. His hospitality was princely."<sup>58</sup>

Bishop Cornwallis, in his anniversary sermon, emphasized the difficulties of converting the members of a savage race. The approach to them must be made through friendliness and kindness; by good example they might be won to Christian truth. It was not at first among the rude and barbarous that our religion had its start, he said; certainly its progress must be slow, when men are unacquainted with all the finer principles of human nature:

"For how can it be expected that the untutored Mind of a poor *Indian*, should be capable of imbibing the Truths, or digesting the Precepts of the Gospel, however plainly proposed to him? . . . But first civilize the Barbarians by friendly Inter-course and gentle Treatment; let them see and partake of the good Effects of Christianity, in our Honesty and Justice; calm their savage Dispositions, and rescue them out of that Wilderness, they have unhappily fallen into; and then we shall find them well prepared for the Reception of Truth. . . . It is by Communication and Example, that a Way must be paved for

<sup>57</sup>FREDERICK CORNWALLIS (1713-1783), 7th son of Charles, 4th Lord Cornwallis; twin brother of Gen. Edward Cornwallis. Born Feb. 22, 1713. Attended Eton, and Christ's College, Cambridge. B. A., 1736; D. D., 1748. 1740: rector of Chelmondiston, Suffolk. Also had the living of Tittleshall, St. Mary, Norfolk. Appointed one of the king's chaplains-in-ordinary. May 21, 1746: appointed canon of Windsor. Jan. 14, 1747: prebend of Leighton Ecclesia in the Church of Lincoln. Feb. 19, 1750: bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Nov. 14, 1766: dean of St. Paul's (also prebend of Wildland). Aug. 23, 1768: appointed archbishop of Canterbury; enthroned Oct. 6. Mar. 19, 1783: died at Lambeth Palace. Buried in a vault under the communion table in Lambeth Church. Married Caroline Townshend (1759). Published sermons and wrote verses.—[Thompson Cooper, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, IV, 1166-1167.]

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*

Christianity; and we can little expect to convince the Heart, till we have, in some Sort, cleared the Understanding from that Rubbish which a savage Education must throw upon it."<sup>59</sup>

#### THE SERMON OF BISHOP EWER, 1767

Of all the anniversary sermons preached before the Society, the one which gained the greatest notoriety and provoked the most violent reactions was that of John Ewer,<sup>60</sup> bishop of Llandaff, delivered on February 20, 1767. Bishop Ewer branded the American colonists as "infidels and barbarians . . . living without remembrance or knowledge of God, without any divine worship, in dissolute wickedness, and the most brutal profligacy of manners," adding the extraordinary statement,

"Thus their neglect of religion was contrary to the pretences and conditions under which they obtained royal grants and public authority to their adventures; such pretences and conditions being the enlargement of commerce and the propagation of Christian faith. The former they executed with sincerity and zeal, and in the latter most miserably failed."

The good bishop had no first-hand knowledge of moral conditions in America, and he was by no means accurate in his historical statements. The weakness in his premises made him vulnerable to attack; and his "slanders" were answered by Charles Chauncy of Boston, in *A Letter to a Friend*, dated 10 December, 1767, and in a spiritual letter addressed to the bishop himself by William Livingston.<sup>61</sup> The cause of most genuine alarm, however, was Dr. Ewer's insistence on the need of a bishop in America. The presence of such an ecclesiastical official was, rightly or wrongly, something of which most of the dissenting groups and not a few Anglican churchmen entertained serious fear. The clear, incisive arguments of the bishop of Landaff added fuel to the flames. To-day, the arguments of Dr. Ewer seem unanswerable to

<sup>59</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1756, p. 19.

<sup>60</sup>JOHN EWER (d. 1774). Educated at Eton. Proceeded to King's College, Cambridge, 1723; became a fellow. B. A., 1728; M. A., 1732; D. D., 1756. Appointed assistant-master at Eton. Tutor to the marquis of Granby; accompanied him on his travels. 1735: rector of Bottesford, Leicestershire. Mar. 1, 1738: canon of Windsor. Rector of West Ilsley, Berkshire. 1749: rector of Dengie, Essex. Nov. 4, 1751: prebend of Moreton cum Whaddon. Sept. 13, 1761: bishop of Llandaff. Dec. 20, 1768: translated to Bangor. Married (1743) Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Barnardiston of Wyverstone, Suffolk; left a daughter. Died Oct. 28, 1774, at his seat near Worcester.—[Gordon Goodwin, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, VI, 958.]

<sup>61</sup>Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902). An admirable study of the efforts to establish an episcopate in colonial America and the controversies pertaining thereto. See especially pp. 161ff.

American Episcopalians, and, no doubt, most fair-minded members of other religious bodies would concede the force of his reasoning; but it is to be remembered that the sermon which created so much commotion in the decade before the War of Independence was delivered in turbulent times, when any unconventional utterance from the Established Church of England was bound to awaken suspicion.

Early in his sermon, the bishop reviewed the general program of the Society. It had been founded, he said, to carry on a pious work, and by perpetual succession it was made in some sense immortal. It was furnished with a capacity for furthering its designs—"enabled to execute its purposes, not by fits and starts, with frequent intermissions, . . . but to proceed with a continued, steady, uniform endeavour and direction, whereby the most difficult enterprises being kept always going forward, are at last brought to the desired end." Indeed, it was to be the reservoir of national charity.<sup>62</sup> The integrity of the Society was "not only blameless, but free from all suspicion." Its success had been considerable despite many disadvantages. One of those disadvantages had been the want of seminaries in those parts for the education of persons to serve in the ministry; and such a disadvantage has been so serious that "it may one day undo all that the Society has been so many years labouring to do."<sup>63</sup>

But "the fundamental cause of the want of native ministers"—that is, American-born sons of British colonists—has been the want of bishops in the new world. By providing an episcopate in the colonies, the shortage of ministers could be corrected. The failure to furnish bishops who might confirm and ordain had given the Church of England in America a unique disadvantage, rendering it incapable of keeping pace with the growth of population and fulfilling the increasing demands made upon it. On the other hand, the various religious sects, which did not require episcopal ordination so as to ensure a supply of ministers, were self-perpetuating and free to multiply and expand:

"The want of Bishops there hath been all along the more heavily lamented, because it is a case so singular, that it cannot be paralleled in the Christian world. For what sect was ever anywhere at all to be allowed, that was not allowed the means within themselves of providing for the continual exercise of their worship? the granting one without the other would be but a mockery.

"Yet such is the state of our Church in the colonies; and at a time, and in a realm, where the rights of conscience are

<sup>62</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1767, p. 18.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 19.

best understood, and most fully allowed and protected. All sects of Protestant Christians here at home; and all, save one, throughout our colonies, have the full enjoyment of religion."

Even the Roman Church, within a province (Canada) lately added to the British dominions, possessed bishops and seminaries, he said. The Church of England alone suffered from discrimination:

"Thus stands the case of all churches in our colonies, except only the Church here by law established; that alone is not tolerated in the whole; it exists only in part, in a maimed state, lopt of Episcopacy, an essential part of its constitution."

Why such fear of planting bishops among the colonists?

"A few persons vested with authority to ordain ministers, to confirm youth, and to visit their own clergy . . . restrained to these spiritual functions. . . . Can they invade the rights and jurisdiction of magistrates? Can they infringe the liberties of the people? Can they weaken, or be thought disposed to weaken, the fidelity of the colonies to his Majesty, or their dependence on this country?"<sup>64</sup>

Bishop Ewer waxed eloquent in detailing the hardships to which the candidates were subjected in being forced to go to England for orders:

"What encouragement have the inhabitants of these regions to qualify themselves for holy orders, while, to obtain them, they lie under the necessity of crossing an immense Ocean, with much inconvenience, danger and expence; which those who come hither on that errand can but ill bear? And if they have the fortune to arrive safe, being here without friends, and without acquaintances, they have the sad business to undergo, of presenting themselves unknown to persons unknown, without any recommendation or introduction, except certain papers in their pocket. Are there not circumstances in this case, sufficient to deter every ordinary courage, and to damp the most adventurous spirit?"<sup>65</sup>

#### THE SERMON OF BISHOP NEWTON, 1769

The alliance of the Six Tribes with the British during the recent French and Indian War had deepened the sympathy for the noble red man; and this interest found expression in the anniversary sermon

<sup>64</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1767, pp. 22-23.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 21.

of Dr. Thomas Newton,<sup>66</sup> bishop of Bristol, February 17, 1769. Like Bishop Ewer, he was painfully aware of the shortage of missionaries and of the difficulty in the way of propagating the gospel with no bishop in America to ordain the candidates for the ministry. In the course of his address, Bishop Newton said:

"Notwithstanding the diversity and difficulty of (the Indians') languages, their wandering life, their gross ignorance, their fierce dispositions, their continual wars, their savage manners, their barbarous customs, their horrid superstitions, yet several of them have been made converts, and some congregations have been formed among the Mohawks and other Indian tribes. Some of the Society's missionaries and catechists have been at the pains of learning some of the American languages for the readier discourse and communication with the people; and some schools are erecting for their better education and instruction, to civilise in order to convert them."<sup>67</sup>

But yet, said the bishop, the designs of the Society are very far from being completed. "Many things are wanting to perfect and establish the good work that is begun." Continually the Society is being importuned to send over more missionaries. "But the greatest want of all is that of an American Bishop for the purpose of confirmation, ordi-

<sup>66</sup>THOMAS NEWTON (1704-1782), son of John Newton, a brandy and cider merchant, and ..... Rhodes, daughter of a clergyman. Born at Lichfield, Jan. 1, 1704. Attended Lichfield Grammar School and Winchester, and Trinity College, Cambridge. B. A., 1726-1727; M. A., 1730. Fellow of Trinity. Ordered deacon, Dec., 1729; ordained priest, Feb., 1730. Curate to Dr. Trebeck, rector of St. George's, Hanover Square, London. Reader at Grosvenor Chapel in South Audley Street. Tutor of the son of George, Lord Carpenter; lived in his house. Became a collector of books and pictures. 1738: morning preacher at the Spring Gardens Chapel. Chaplain to Pulteney, earl of Bath (1742). 1744: rector of St. Mary-le-Bow. D. D., 1745. Preached some loyal sermons during the rebellion of 1745; received in consequence threatening letters but no preferment. 1747: lecturer at St. George's, Hanover Square. Aug., 1747: married Jane Trebeck, daughter of the rector; she died (1754) without children. 1749: published an edition of *Paradise Lost*, with life of Milton and elaborate notes. Eighth editions of his *Paradise Lost* appeared by 1775. Published (1754) *Dissertations on the Prophecies which have been remarkably fulfilled, and are at this time fulfilling in the world*. Boyle lecturer. Chaplain to the king. March, 1757: prebend in Westminster Abbey. Oct., 1757: sub-almoner. June, 1759: precentor of York. Sept. 5, 1761: married Elizabeth Hand, widow, who was the daughter of John, Viscount Lisburne. Dec. 22, 1761; consecrated bishop of Bristol. Nov. 24, 1761: prebend of St. Paul's. He resigned the prebend at Westminster, the precentorship of York, the lectureship of St. George's, and the sub-almonership. Supported the ministers in the House of Lords, but protested against the repeal of the Stamp Act. Prevented the Roman Catholics from erecting a "public Mass-house" at Clifton. Oct. 8, 1768: dean of St. Paul's. Resigned St. Mary-le-Bow. His health became bad. Continued to collect books and pictures. Finished his autobiography a few days before his death at the deanery, Feb. 14, 1782. Buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.—[Leslie Stephens, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, XIV, 403-405.]

<sup>67</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1769, p. 25.



nation, visitation of the clergy, and other ecclesiastical offices, without the least share of civil power or jurisdiction whatever."<sup>68</sup> A wide field has been opened to the Church by the late Treaty of Peace, so far as the Indians are concerned; surely it would be well to make use of the opportunity:

"To bring them [the Indians] off from their roving courses, and reconcile them to a more settled kind of life; to give them some notions of agriculture, and furnish them with proper implements for it; to teach them such of the more common mechanic arts, as may be the means of their more comfortable subsistence; to open schools in different parts for their further erudition and improvement; to learn their languages, or familiarize them to our own; to convince them of our concern for their spiritual by our regard to their temporal welfare, by acts of humanity, justice, and kindness; these will be found to be the most efficacious methods of winning them over to our religion."<sup>69</sup>

#### THE SERMON OF BISHOP LOWTH, 1771

Bishop Robert Lowth<sup>70</sup> of Oxford, who preached the anniversary sermon, February 15, 1771, was a finished scholar and a man of sincere piety. The very year of his translation to the see of London, he met John Wesley at dinner, and refused to sit above him. Wesley acknowledged his excellent parts, and spoke of him in his *Journal* as one in his "whole behaviour worthy of a Christian bishop." Bishop Lowth was "well and stoutly built, with a florid countenance and animated expression. His conversation was easy and refined, and his manners were courtly. Of a sympathetic disposition, he was more inclined to melancholy than to mirth. His temper was hasty but kept under control. His taste was fine, and he was an industrious student."<sup>71</sup>

In his sermon before the S. P. G., he dwelt particularly on the great

<sup>68</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1769, p. 26.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>70</sup>ROBERT LOWTH (1710-1787), 2nd son of William Lowth, D. D. (1660-1732), divine, and commentator on the Old Testament, and Margaret Pitt of Blandford, Dorset. Born at Winchester, Nov. 27, 1710. Educated at Winchester, and at New College, Oxford. B. A., 1733; M. A., 1737. 1735: vicar of Overton, Hampshire. 1741: appointed regius professor of poetry at Oxford. Delivered a remarkably learned course on Hebrew poetry. Held various preferments. June 15, 1766: consecrated bishop of St. David's. 1766: translated to the see of Oxford. 1777: translated to the see of London. Declined the archbishopric of Canterbury (1783). Appointed a member of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations. Died, Nov. 3, 1787; buried at Fulham. By his wife, Mary Jackson of Christchurch, Hampshire, had 7 children.—[William Hunt, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprint, XII, 214-216.]

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 215.

burdens incurred by native Americans in seeking ordination. The western colonies are capable of supplying to a large extent their native ministry, through seminaries of learning, he said; but the candidates are subject to delays and difficulties. He stated in a note to his sermon that fifty-two had gone to England for ordination from the northern colonies; of those, forty-two had returned safely, while ten had miscarried through the voyage or through sickness. The journey had proved fatal to nearly a fifth of them. Furthermore, the expense was at least a hundred pounds sterling.

He cited specific instances, such as that of Mr. Barzillai Dean, M. A., Yale College, who had been appointed to Hebron, Connecticut, and ordained by the bishop of London, but perished on his return voyage to America (1745), leaving a wife and several small children. He spoke of Jonathan Colton, M. A., Yale, who had died on his passage from London to New England, and was buried in the ocean. He mentioned Mr. Usher, who, on his return voyage to New England in 1757, was taken by the French, thrown into prison, and at last died in the Castle of Bayonne. He cited the case of the Rev. Samuel Peters, who, in 1759, not long after his arrival in England, was taken with the smallpox. The great shortage of ministers was appalling.<sup>72</sup>

Some of the candidates who had gone from America for ordination had returned safely, and some of them had become very able missionaries; but many more hesitated to face the long, dangerous, expensive, and perhaps fruitless voyage, which had proved fatal or disastrous to a large proportion of those who had ventured on it. It was no wonder that in 1767, of the twenty-one churches and congregations in New Jersey, for instance, eleven were entirely destitute of a minister, and for the other ten there were only five clergymen available; that in Pennsylvania the case was similar; and that the governor of North Carolina reported to the Society in 1764 that there were then but six clergymen in that province for twenty-nine parishes, each containing a whole county.<sup>73</sup>

Bishop Lowth saw no remedy without the appointment of "one or more resident Bishops, for the exercise of offices purely episcopal in the American Church of England; for administering the solemn and edifying rite of Confirmation; for ordaining Ministers, and superintending their conduct; offices, to which the members of the Church of England have an undeniable claim, and from which they cannot be precluded without manifest injustice and oppression."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1771, pp. 15-16.

<sup>73</sup>*Classified Digest, supra*, pp. 840-841.

<sup>74</sup>S. P. G. Sermon, 1771, p. 17.



## THE SERMON OF BISHOP MOSS, 1772

Dr. Charles Moss,<sup>75</sup> bishop of St. David's, advanced the same line of reasoning in his anniversary sermon, February 21, 1772. He stressed a consideration of the "one grand obstruction to the operation of this Society," namely, "the want of Bishops in the British establishments of America, to supply the calls and occasions of the Church in those quarters."<sup>76</sup> Again he reminded his hearers of the difficulty—the impossibility, in fact—of stocking the country with missionaries from England in sufficient numbers. He rehearsed the pains and discouragements attending the long voyages, which had deterred native American candidates from journeying to England for ordination.<sup>77</sup>

"The reasons for establishing Bishops in the British dominions in America, are so weighty, as well on the grounds of religion as of sound policy, that it may seem just matter of wonder, that an episcopal Church of immense extent, under the protection of an episcopal government, should have subsisted so long without them. The motives of government for withholding this indulgence, I presume not to enter into; whether it be mere inattention, or any other cause. Be that as it will: sure I am, that no denomination of Christians can, fairly and consistently, object to this measure."<sup>78</sup>

Nor shall we enter into "the motives of government for withholding this indulgence," further than to state generally that both indifference and a fear of offending the powerful and assertive dissenting elements had their share in the persistent blocking of the proposed measures to

<sup>75</sup>CHARLES MOSS (1711-1802), son of William and Sarah Moss, of wealthy family. Baptized Jan. 3, 1711. Inherited a large fortune. 1727: entered Caius College, Cambridge as a pensioner. B. A., 1731; M. A., 1735. Fellow. Became chaplain of Bishop Sherlock of Salisbury, by whom he was "placed on the ladder of preferment, which he climbed rapidly." 1738: prebend of Warminster in Salisbury Cathedral. 1740: exchanged it for Hurstbourne and Burbage. Accompanied Bishop Sherlock to London (1748). 1749: archdeacon of Colchester. Received from Bishop Sherlock the valuable livings of St. Andrew Undershaft; St. James', Piccadilly (1750); St. George's, Hanover Square (1759). Delivered the Boyle lectures four years in succession (1759-1762). Member of the Royal Society. Nov. 30, 1766: consecrated bishop of St. David's. 1774: translated to Bath and Wells. "A good average prelate . . . much esteemed through his Diocese for his urbanity and simplicity of manners, and revered for his piety and learning." Warmly supported Hannah More in the promotion of her schools in Cheddar Valley. Died in his house in Grosvenor Square, Apr. 13, 1802; buried in Grosvenor Chapel, South Audley Street. Left one daughter and one surviving son. Estate valued at £140,000.—[Edmund Venables, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-1922 reprints, XIII, 1078-1079.]

<sup>76</sup>S. P. G. Sermon and Abstract, 1772, p. xvi.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

establish an American episcopate. When Bishop Moss delivered his discourse, feelings had risen very high, and the separation of the colonies was imminent.

### CONCLUSION

In the sermons delivered during the next ten years, there was no animus expressed against the revolting colonials. Doubtless the eminent prelates who appeared each February before the Society believed—and rightly so—that the dissatisfaction abroad might have been greatly soothed, if not averted, if the British State had practised in a large degree the same altruism, sympathy, and Christian benevolence that the Society, with its limited resources, had exemplified to the best of its ability.

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## APPENDIX

### Anniversary Preachers: 1702-1783

- 1702. RICHARD WILLIS (1664-1734). Dean of Lincoln, 1701; Bishop of Gloucester, 1715; of Salisbury, 1721; of Winchester, 1723.
- 1703. WILLIAM LLOYD (1627-1719). Bishop of St. Asaph, 1680; of Lichfield, 1692; of Worcester, 1699.
- 1704. GILBERT BURNET (1643-1715). Bishop of Salisbury, 1689.
- 1705. JOHN HOUGH (1651-1743). Bishop of Oxford, 1690; of Lichfield and Coventry, 1699; of Worcester, 1717.
- 1706. JOHN WILLIAMS (1634-1709). Bishop of Chichester, 1696.
- 1707. WILLIAM BEVERIDGE (1637-1708). Bishop of St. Asaph, 1704.
- 1708. WILLIAM STANLEY (1647-1731). Dean of St. Asaph, 1706.
- 1709. WILLIAM DAWES (1671-1724). Bishop of Chester, 1708; Archbishop of York, 1714.
- 1710. CHARLES TRIMNELL (1663-1723). Bishop of Norwich, 1708; of Winchester, 1721.
- 1711. WILLIAM FLEETWOOD (1656-1723). Bishop of St. Asaph, 1708; of Ely, 1714.
- 1712. WHITE KENNETT (1660-1728). Dean of Peterborough, 1708; Bishop of Peterborough, 1718.
- 1713. JOHN MOORE (1646-1714). Bishop of Norwich, 1691; of Ely, 1707.
- 1714. GEORGE STANHOPE (1660-1728). Dean of Canterbury, 1704.

1715. ST. GEORGE ASH (1658?-1718). Bishop of Cloyne, 1695; of Clogher, 1697; of Derry, 1717.
1716. THOMAS SHERLOCK (1678-1761). Dean of Chichester, 1715; Bishop of Bangor, 1728; of Salisbury, 1734; of London, 1748.
1717. THOMAS HAYLEY. Canon residentiary of Chichester.
1718. PHILIP BISSE (1667-1721). Bishop of St. David's, 1710; of Hereford, 1713.
1719. EDWARD CHANDLER (1668?-1750). Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1717; of Durham, 1730.
1720. SAMUEL BRADFORD (1652-1731). Bishop of Carlisle, 1718; of Rochester, 1723.
1721. EDWARD WADDINGTON (1670?-1731). Bishop of Chichester, 1724.
1722. HUGH BOULTER (1672-1742). Bishop of Bristol, 1719; of Armagh, 1723.
1723. JOHN WAUGH (1656-1734). Dean of Gloucester, 1720; Bishop of Carlisle, 1723.
1724. THOMAS GREEN (1658-1738). Bishop of Norwich, 1721; of Ely, 1723.
1725. JOHN WYNNE (1667-1743). Bishop of St. Asaph, 1715; of Bath and Wells, 1727.
1726. JOSEPH WILCOCKS (1673-1756). Bishop of Gloucester, 1721; of Rochester, 1731.
1727. JOHN LENG (1665-1727). Bishop of Norwich, 1723.
1728. RICHARD REYNOLDS (1674-1743). Bishop of Bangor, 1721; of Lincoln, 1723.
1729. HENRY EGERTON (d. 1746). Bishop of Hereford, 1724.
1730. ZACHARY PEARCE (1690-1774). Bishop of Bangor, 1748; of Rochester, 1756.
1731. JOHN DENNE (1693-1767). Archdeacon of Rochester, 1728.
1732. GEORGE BERKELEY (1685-1753). Dean of Londonderry, 1724; Bishop of Cloyne, 1734.
1733. RICHARD SMALBROKE (1672-1749). Bishop of St. David's, 1724; of Lichfield and Coventry, 1731.
1734. ISAAC MADDOX (1697-1759). Dean of Wells, 1734; Bishop of St. Asaph, 1736; of Worcester, 1743.
1735. FRANCIS HARE (1671-1740). Bishop of St. Asaph, 1727; of Chichester, 1731.
1736. JOHN LYNCH. Dean of Canterbury.
1737. NICHOLAS CLAGGET (d. 1746). Bishop of St. David's, 1732; of Exeter, 1742.
1738. THOMAS HERRING (1693-1757). Bishop of Bangor, 1737; Archbishop of York, 1743; of Canterbury, 1747.

1739. JOSEPH BUTLER (1692-1752). Bishop of Bristol, 1738; of Durham, 1750.
1740. MARTIN BENSON (1689-1752). Bishop of Gloucester, 1735.
1741. THOMAS SECKER (1693-1768). Bishop of Bristol, 1735; of Oxford, 1737; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1750.
1742. HENRY STEBBING (1687-1763). Chancellor of Salisbury.
1743. MATTHIAS MAWSON (1683-1770). Bishop of Llandaff, 1739; of Chichester, 1740; of Ely, 1754.
1744. JOHN GILBERT (1693-1761). Bishop of Llandaff, 1740; of Salisbury, 1749; Archbishop of York, 1757.
1745. PHILIP BEARCROFT (1697-1761). Secretary, S. P. G.
1746. MATTHEW HUTTON (1693-1758). Bishop of Bangor, 1743; Archbishop of York, 1747; of Canterbury, 1757.
1747. JOHN THOMAS (1691-1766). Bishop of Lincoln, 1744; of Salisbury, 1761.
1748. SAMUEL LISLE (1683-1749). Bishop of St. Asaph, 1744; of Norwich, 1748.
1749. WILLIAM GEORGE (d. 1756). Dean of Lincoln, 1748.
1750. RICHARD TREVOR (1707-1771). Bishop of St. David's, 1744; of Durham, 1752.
1751. JOHN THOMAS (1696-1781). Bishop of Peterborough, 1747; of Salisbury, 1757; of Winchester, 1761.
1752. RICHARD OSBALDISTONE (1690-1764). Bishop of Carlisle, 1747; of London, 1762.
1753. EDWARD CRESSETT (d. 1755). Bishop of Llandaff, 1749.
1754. ROBERT HAY DRUMMOND (1711-1776). Bishop of St. Asaph, 1748; of Salisbury, 1761; Archbishop of York, 1761.
1755. THOMAS HAYTER (1702-1762). Bishop of Norwich, 1749; of London, 1761.
1756. FREDERICK CORNWALLIS (1713-1783). Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1750; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1768.
1757. EDMUND KEENE (1714-1781). Bishop of Chester, 1752; of Ely, 1771.
1758. JAMES JOHNSON (1705-1774). Bishop of Gloucester, 1752; of Worcester, 1759.
1759. ANTHONY ELLYS (1690-1761). Bishop of St. David's, 1752.
1760. WILLIAM ASHBURNHAM (d. 1760). Bishop of Chichester, 1754.
1761. RICHARD NEWCOME (d. 1769). Bishop of Llandaff, 1755; of St. Asaph, 1761.
1762. JOHN HUME (d. 1782). Bishop of Bristol, 1756; of Oxford, 1758; of Salisbury, 1766.

1763. JOHN EGERTON (1721-1787). Bishop of Bangor, 1756; of Lichfield, 1768; of Durham, 1771.
1764. RICHARD TERRICK (1710-1777). Bishop of Peterborough, 1759; of London, 1764.
1765. PHILIP YONGE (d. 1783). Bishop of Bristol, 1758; of Norwich, 1761.
1766. WILLIAM WARBURTON (1698-1779). Bishop of Gloucester, 1759.
1767. JOHN EWER (d. 1774). Bishop of Llandaff, 1761; of Bangor, 1768.
1768. JOHN FREEN (1706?-1779). Bishop of Lincoln, 1761.
1769. THOMAS NEWTON (1704-1782). Bishop of Bristol, 1761.
1770. FREDERICK KEPPELL (1729-1777). Bishop of Exeter, 1762.
1771. ROBERT LOWTH (1710-1787). Bishop of Oxford, 1766; of London, 1777.
1772. CHARLES MOSS (1711-1802). Bishop of St. David's, 1766; of Bath and Wells, 1774.
1773. JONATHAN SHIPLEY (1714-1788). Bishop of Llandaff, 1769; of St. Asaph's, 1769.
1774. EDMUND LAW (1703-1787). Bishop of Carlisle, 1768.
1775. SHUTE BARRINGTON (1734-1826). Bishop of Llandaff, 1769; of Salisbury, 1782; of Durham, 1791.
1776. JOHN HINCHCLIFFE (1731-1794). Bishop of Peterborough, 1769.
1777. WILLIAM MARKHAM (1719-1807). Bishop of Chester, 1771; Archbishop of York, 1777.
1778. BROWNLOW NORTH (1741-1820). Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1771; of Worcester, 1774; of Winchester, 1781.
1779. JAMES YORKE (1730-1808). Bishop of St. David's; of Gloucester, 1779; of Ely, 1781.
1780. JOHN THOMAS (1712-1793). Bishop of Rochester, 1774.
1781. RICHARD HURD (1720-1808). Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1774; of Worcester, 1781.
1782. JOHN MOORE (1730-1805). Bishop of Bangor, 1775; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1783.
1783. BEILBY PORTEUS (1731-1808). Bishop of Chester, 1777; of London, 1787.

## Dr. J. Thayer Addison's History— A Review\*

By Walter H. Stowe

[*The Episcopal Church in the United States.* By James Thayer Addison (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951). About 416 pp.]



AMONG all the standard histories of the Episcopal Church in America,<sup>1</sup> this history is unique in three respects: (1) It links the American Episcopal Church with the Church of England through Chapter I, "Anglicanism in England, 1559-1789," in about 28 pages<sup>2</sup>; (2) it summarizes the history of the Church of England in the thirteen colonies, 1607-1775, in one chapter (II), of about 29 pages; (3) about one-half of the book is given over to the story of the American Church during the two generations following the Civil War, 1866-1931 (Chapters XIV-XXVII).

If one is willing to admit the validity of the author's plan, which is to place the major emphasis on the post-Civil War era, this is a remarkable book. It has this reviewer's unstinted respect, admiration, and even

\*Dr. Addison has served as professor of the History of Religion and Missions in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1919-1940, and as vice-president of the National Council of the Episcopal Church, with supervision of its overseas missionary work, from 1940 until his retirement in 1947.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>In chronological order of publication, they are:

PERRY, WILLIAM STEVENS, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883* (2 vols. Boston, 1885): Vol. I (1587-1783), pp. 665; Vol. II (1783-1883), pp. 696.

McCONNELL, S. D., *History of the American Episcopal Church, from the Planting of the Colonies to the End of the Civil War* (New York, 1890), pp. 392.

COLEMAN, LEIGHTON, *The Church in America* (New York, 1895), pp. 391.

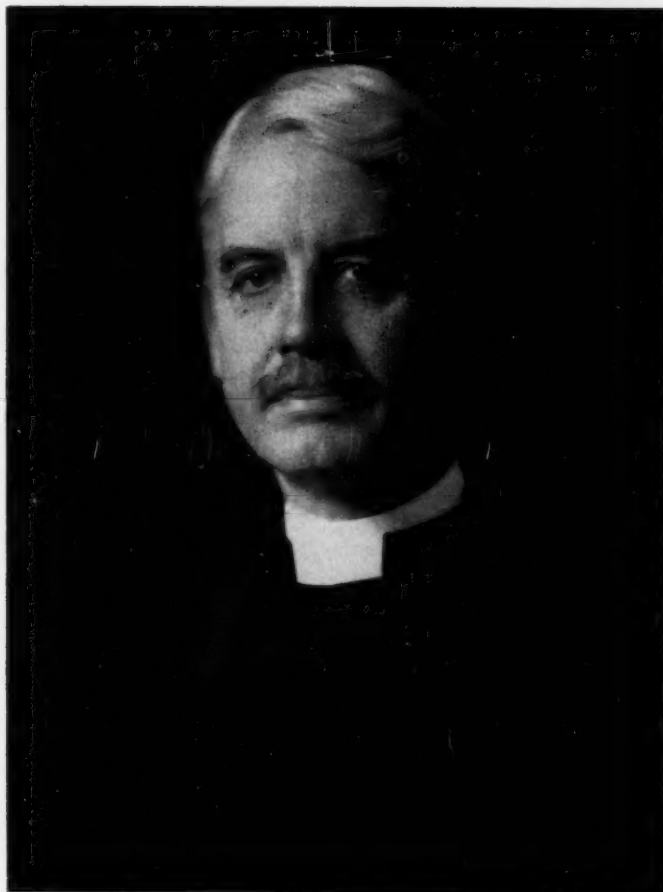
TIFFANY, CHARLES C., *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.* (New York, 1895), pp. 593. (Vol. VII of the *American Church History Series*.)

MANROSS, WILLIAM WILSON, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee, Morehouse Publishing Co., 1935), pp. 404; 2nd edition (New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1950).

The 40 years between the date of Tiffany's volume (1895) and that of Manross' (1935) symbolize pretty effectively the decline of interest and productive scholarship in the field of American Church history. The authorization of the publication of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE by the General Convention of 1931 epitomizes the turning point for the better.

<sup>2</sup>This review is written from the galley proofs, and the exact paging cannot be given.





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**THE REVEREND J. THAYER ADDISON, D.D.**

**Professor of the History of Religion and Missions, Episcopal  
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1919-1940**

**Vice-President of the National Council of the Episcopal Church,  
with supervision of its overseas missionary work,  
1940-1947**



enthusiasm. It is fairly and objectively written, and the whitewash brush is never applied. The style has a moving quality and a sustained tempo. Character sketches are incisive.

In Parts III, IV, and V, a feature new to most standard histories is introduced. In each part, a chapter on "Types of Leadership" is given, wherein dominant movements of a period are expounded through personality: XI, William A. Muhlenberg and Alonzo Potter; XVIII, William Hobart Hare and Phillips Brooks; XXVI, William Lawrence and Charles Henry Brent. All are exceedingly well done.

## PART I

### THE BACKGROUND

- I. Anglicanism in England, 1559-1789.
- II. The Church of England in the Thirteen Colonies, 1607-1775.
- III. The Church during the Revolution and Reorganization, 1776-1789.

There has been some demand that our American Church histories should outline the background of its heritage from the Church of England. Chapter I is just about the best outline of the preceding two and one-third centuries of the mother Church's history that we have ever read in twenty-eight pages, although specialists in 18th century English history will fault the treatment as being too severe on the Church of that period.

The opening paragraph states:

"Anglicanism . . . is the form which the Catholic Church in England took after it had been reformed in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. It is the type of Christianity which we find in the national Church after the 'Elizabethan Settlement,' and which has been evolving ever since through four centuries of history."

The concluding paragraph reads:

"It was the evolution of a form of Catholic Christianity which ceased to be national in the strict sense of embracing all the people of England, but which remained national in the deeper sense of reflecting in its sobriety, its restraint, its dignity and beauty of ritual, and its capacity for ample development without the change of ancient forms, certain of the lasting mental and moral traits of the English people."

Chapter II treats first of the colonies where the Anglican Church was established—Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia; and then of the northern colonies, where it was not established.

"The majority of those who emigrated to the American colonies in the seventeenth century were not members of the Church of England. . . .

"To put it in a sentence, the story of the Church of England in the thirteen colonies before 1776 is the story of what happens to an episcopal Church when it tries to live and thrive without a bishop. The record on the whole is not a happy one."

The opening sentence to the conclusion of this chapter is equally sound:

"When we review the history of the Church of England in the Thirteen Colonies from the earliest days at Jamestown to the eve of the Revolution, we find ample evidence that all the disadvantages under which it labored were due to its connection with the State either in England or in America."

In the first section of Chapter III, the devastating effects of the Revolution are effectively summarized, followed by the story of the quest for bishops through the whole course of the 18th century, and ending with the beginning of reorganization through the General Conventions of 1785 and 1786, and the obtaining of the episcopate from Scotland and England.

## PART II

### THE CHURCH FROM 1789 TO 1835

- IV. The General Convention of 1789: Constitution, Canons and Prayer Book.
- V. The Church Convalescent.
- VI. New Leaders.
- VII. The Church Begins to Teach.
- VIII. Missionary Awakening.

"The General Convention which met in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on July 28, 1789, was the most important convention ever held by the Episcopal Church," is the opening statement of Chapter IV. At the same time, the author quashes the assertion of some church historians that the membership of the General Convention "was much the same as that of the convention which formulated the Federal Constitution." The concluding appraisal is discerning:

"Attention to many canonical and liturgical details ought not to obscure the great creative achievements of this General Convention. A small number of leaders within a brief time, working upon material wrought out for five years past, had

given to the Anglican Communion in the United States a constitutional and legal setting which the Church had never elsewhere known. Without departing at any point from either their Catholic or Protestant heritage, the representatives of the Church had produced a constitution which regulated the functions not only of laymen and priests but also of bishops. There thus appeared a limited constitutional episcopate, quite divorced from its long alliance with monarchy and Parliament. 'The introduction of the laity into the place assigned to them was a momentous step.'"

Dr. Addison does not fall into Tiffany's error of calling the two decades following the General Convention of 1789 as the "period of suspended animation"; he calls it instead "The Church Convalescent" (Chapter V), and that is a truer appraisal. To convalesce is "to grow stronger after illness, to make progress toward recovery of health." Bishop White, in his involved way, used to say that the Church was "approaching annihilation." At least it was pretty sick, and recovery was so slow that we who live in an age of rapid tempo look back with impatience upon our ecclesiastical forefathers. But those whose ministry has largely been exercised during the last generation, which was a decided ebb tide in religion, ought to have more charity and sympathy for those whose ministry was cast in an era even worse than our own. This chapter is a *must* for all discouraged clergy and laymen of today.

But human nature being what it is, every reader will probably turn with relief to Chapter VI, "New Leaders," and relish the accounts of Alexander Viets Griswold, John Henry Hobart, Philander Chase, and Richard Channing Moore. The revival of the Church in the South, however, began with Theodore Dehon of South Carolina, and he should have been included.

All who believe in the teaching mission of the Church ought to be pleased with the emphasis given in this volume to Christian education. Chapter VII, "The Church Begins to Teach," shows that an important aspect of the Church's revival, roughly visible from 1811 onwards, was the adoption of a more vigorous educational approach—through Sunday schools, doctrinal sermons, hymns, tracts, Bible and Prayer Book societies, periodicals, boarding schools, colleges, and above all, for the recruiting and better training of the clergy, theological seminaries.

Chapter VIII, "Missionary Awakening," traces the expansion of the Church during the two decades between 1815 and 1835. This involved the dual process of strengthening the stakes and lengthening the cords.

The absence of good diocesan histories among almost all of our oldest and strongest dioceses is a sinful neglect. A great deal of research has yet to be done on just how those dioceses increased in strength during this period. We know in a general way. When diocesan boards of missions were unheard of, voluntary organizations such as "Societies for the Advancement of Christianity" sprang up and educated dioceses in their responsibility to the unchurched within their own borders.

The problem of the missionary frontier, especially in the rapidly growing West, was too long in being solved:

"So inflexibly was the Church then organized as a mere federation of highly independent dioceses that it was baffled by existing conditions. . . . Consequently, the policy of General Convention was to leave each State or western Territory to qualify as a diocese if and when it could, through the use of its own resources. The Convention assumed no responsibility for helping it to grow. It simply waited for it to appear with a signed certificate proving that it *had* grown.

"This paralyzing situation was soon to be improved, and ultimately to be saved, by the organization of a *national* Missionary Society.

The genesis and early efforts of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society are recounted, ending in the momentous changes in the Society's constitution by the General Convention of 1835, and in the adoption of the canon creating the office of missionary bishop.

### PART III

#### THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH FROM 1836 TO 1865

##### *Introductory*

- IX. Missionary Expansion.
- X. The Oxford Movement and Its American Results.
- XI. Types of Leadership: Wm. A. Muhlenberg and Alonzo Potter.
- XII. The Muhlenberg Memorial.
- XIII. Slavery and the Civil War.

In the Introductory section to Part III, the twenty-five years between 1835 and the Civil War are shown to have been "remarkable for widespread changes in the economic life of the country—westward expansion to the Pacific, the industrial revolution, the rapid growth of cities, and heavy streams of immigration." The growth of the Church is summarized against this background.

Chapter IX, "Missionary Expansion," traces the path of progress by following the careers of outstanding leaders. In the domestic field,



no one can fail to get a thrill from the pen portraits of Jackson Kemper and James Hervey Otey. We cannot forbear quoting this choice bit about Jackson Kemper, who already as a presbyter and one of Bishop White's assistants, was a "born missionary":

"It was, indeed, through Kemper's respectful but insistent pressure that the aged Bishop White was energized into missionary activity during the last twenty years of his long episcopate. By persuading his saintly but unaggressive chief to visit all the country parishes he was partly responsible for the fact that the number of confirmations in the diocese increased ten-fold in two years. . . . Nine years later it was with Kemper as encouraging companion that White set out at the age of seventy-seven upon the first tour he had ever made through western Pennsylvania, during which the pair traveled more than eight hundred miles. Much as he loved his ardent assistant, it may well have been a relief to Bishop White when in 1831 Kemper accepted a call to St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, Conn., and the old man could spend the last five years of his life in peace."

In comparison with the efforts made in the domestic field, the missionary enterprise overseas—in Greece, Constantinople, Liberia, China, and Japan—"was tentative and feeble." But missionary policies cast long shadows. When in 1844 William J. Boone was elected and consecrated first missionary bishop for China, the instructions of the House of Bishops to him stressed the "imperative necessity for taking immediate steps for rearing a band of Christian teachers; a body of able translators, and above all, an efficient ministry." One hundred and seven years later it is clear enough that the very survival of this Church's work in China depends, under God, upon the indigenous Church under the leadership of the native Chinese ministry which has been built up during the past century in obedience to the directives of the House of Bishops.

For the general reader, Chapter I will prove helpful in understanding Chapter X, "The Oxford Movement and Its American Results," wherein about six pages are devoted to outlining the movement in England.

Dr. Addison has had the advantage of two notable volumes published in the last ten years—George E. DeMille's *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church*,<sup>3</sup> and E. Clowes Chorley's *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*.<sup>4</sup> He makes clear, in about nine pages, some striking differences between the movement

<sup>3</sup>Philadelphia, Church Historical Society: 1st edition, 1941; 2nd edition, 1950.

<sup>4</sup>The Hale Lectures, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

here and in England. One observation which we do not remember having seen before is the following:

"It was well for the Church that in 1844 the General Convention took the wise position that it was not its duty to make triennial pronouncements on great questions of doctrine and polity. *If the question had come up for decision a few years later, the balance might possibly have tipped the wrong way.*" (Italic ours.)

In Chapter XI, "Types of Leadership," about eight pages are devoted to William Augustus Muhlenberg, the greatest presbyter of his generation, and about the same number to Alonzo Potter, third bishop of Pennsylvania, whom Dr. William Wilson Manross has characterized as "A Great Evangelical,"<sup>5</sup> and who was lacking in the bitter narrowness that characterized some of his contemporaries of that school.

In Chapter XII, "The Muhlenberg Memorial," that famous document is quoted in full, and its current impact and future influence upon the Church are effectively assessed.

The Church had been tested severely as to the reality of its unity by the controversies arising out of the Oxford Movement, and, to a lesser extent, out of the Muhlenberg Memorial, but "they were only little ripples compared with the tidal wave of the Civil War."

"Slavery and the Civil War" (Chapter XIII) split the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians into separate and bitterly hostile denominations—the first two in the 1840's, and the Presbyterians on the eve of war. Only among the Methodists, and with them as late as 1939, has unity been restored.

The attitude of churchmen, both North and South, concerning slavery is expounded; the reasons why the Episcopal Church was not sundered before the war are set forth; the organization of the Church in the Confederacy and the actions of the General Convention of 1862 are outlined; and the healing of the schism following the war is described.

#### PART IV

1866 to 1900

##### Introductory

- XIV. The Increase and Decline of Party Strife.
- XV. The Church and Education.
- XVI. Missions: Domestic and Foreign.
- XVII. The New Science and the Liberals.
- XVIII. Types of Leadership: William Hobart Hare and Phillips Brooks.
- XIX. Approaches to Church Unity.
- XX. The Social Gospel.

<sup>5</sup>HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, IX (June, 1940), pp., 97-130.

Almost one-half of this book is devoted to the history of the Church during the two generations between 1866 and 1931. This fact is what places it in a class by itself.

In Part IV, after describing in the introductory section the darker and brighter sides of American national life during the first generation, including the numerical change in the churches, Chapter XIV, "The Increase and Decline of Party Strife," discusses the Church's dealings with the extremists of the '60's and '70's—the Anglo-Catholics on the right and the militant Low Churchmen (the Cummins' schism) on the left, the development of cathedrals, and of the monastic orders for both men and women, including deaconesses.

"The progress of the Church in promoting Christian education was slow" during the '60's and '70's, according to Chapter XV, "The Church and Education," "and its ineffective measures were unequal to the opportunity of the age." Nothing was done on a national scale, and very little on a diocesan scale until in 1898 New York led the procession in more effective diocesan leadership. Sunday schools, boarding schools, Church and secular colleges, training schools for deaconesses, the theological seminaries, the Church Congress, religious literature, music and the hymnal, and Prayer Book revision, are all subjected to penetrating analysis.

Reorganization of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, the founding of the Woman's Auxiliary, and the Church's giving for missions receive initial attention in Chapter XVI, "Missions: Domestic and Foreign."

" . . . the contributions to the Board [of Missions] between 1868 and 1898 were not generous. Even in 1898 they amounted to no more than fifty-five cents per year per communicant. Those who continue to dream of a golden age in the past when giving to missions was widespread and lavish ought to read some of the Pastoral Letters of the House of Bishops . . . "

Domestic missions are epitomized in the person of Bishop Daniel Sylvester Tuttle—another fine pen portrait. The section concludes with the beginnings of the work in Alaska and with the difficulties of work among the Negroes.

The section on foreign missions deals with Mexico, Haiti, Brazil, Liberia, Japan and China.

The nineteenth century witnessed one of the greatest intellectual revolutions in the history of man, precipitated by "German philosophy and theology, German Biblical criticism, and European and British phy-

sical science." The effects of this upon the Church is the theme of Chapter XVII, "The New Science and the Liberals."

The Anglican Communion throughout the world, including the Episcopal Church in America, was the first religious body of any size to make a satisfactory reconciliation between science and Christian theology among its various schools of thought, but it was not without travail.

Dr. Addison really tells us something about the explosive volume, *Essays and Reviews*, whereas most standard histories merely mention it. Then follows a description of the storm that beat about Bishop Colenso, the shock administered by Darwin in his *Origin of Species*, the rise of the Broad Churchmen, the *Lux Mundi* school among Anglo-Catholics, the conservative reaction of most American bishops to all this—as late as 1894—and then the potential victory as evidenced by the Encyclical Letter of the Lambeth Conference of 1897.

Among many fine chapters in this book, this is one of the very best.

Chapter XVIII, "Types of Leadership," portrays William Hobart Hare—saint, knight, pioneer, apostle to the Sioux Indians—and Phillips Brooks, "the greatest preacher and the most impressive personality which the Episcopal Church has yet produced."

In "Approaches to Church Unity," Chapter XIX, "the activity of the Episcopal Church, while not daring, was thoughtful and steady."

"The easiest and most natural form of cooperation was to promote close relationship with other branches of the Anglican Communion."

This resulted in the Lambeth Conferences of 1867 and after.

The history of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, originating in the American Church, is related with all necessary thoroughness, including pertinent quotations.

Initial negotiations with the Presbyterians and the Lutherans broke down, but approaches to certain foreign churches—the Old Catholics, the Church of Sweden, and the Russian Church—were more fruitful for the future.

Philanthropy and reform movements characterized the American churches in the first half of the nineteenth century, but efforts at social reconstruction "were not prominent until the last decade or two of the century." Chapter XX, "The Social Gospel," is concerned with the Church's activity in social reform and, to a lesser extent, with social reconstruction. Such a well integrated account in about eleven pages will be new to most readers of this volume.

## PART V

1901 to 1931

## Introductory.

XXI. Changes in Organization.

XXII. Events and Movements of the Time.

XXIII. "Christianizing the Social Order."

XXIV. Progress in Christian Education.

XXV. The Expanding Church: At Home and Abroad.

XXVI. Types of Leadership: William Lawrence and Charles Henry Brent.

XXVII. "Faith and Order."

Epilogue.

A Table of Dates in English Church History from 1558 to 1799.

A List of Books Referred to in the Notes.

Index.

At the beginning of the period covered by Part V, the United States had emerged as a world power; within twenty years it was the foremost power. These thirty years constitute remembered time for many who will read this volume, and Dr. Addison's brilliant introductory section, surveying the characteristic features of the three decades, will be especially appreciated by them.

" . . . The Church was growing at a speedier rate than the population. But it is not because of any census figures that these decades are of high significance in the life of the Church. They are memorable because in the generation which they embrace the Church set itself with greater wisdom and zeal than ever before to the accomplishment of its essential tasks—in missionary expansion, in religious education, in the Christianizing of social relations, and in measurable progress toward the reunion of Christendom."

"Changes in Organization," Chapter XXI, "wrought a marked increase in the efficiency of the Church and enriched its contribution to the causes to which it was committed." The history of the status of assistant bishops is first given, followed by that of the position and authority of the presiding bishop. Next comes the development of the National Council, created in all but name by the General Convention of 1919. The late E. A. White is quoted:

[This canon] "undoubtedly marks a greater change in the polity of the American Church than any other canon ever enacted by General Convention, and is one of the greatest pieces of constructive legislation, if not the greatest, ever enacted by that body since the first General Convention of 1789."

And Dr. Addison adds:

"It endowed the Church with what it had never had before—a strong central executive authority with the power to initiate and develop new work."

The history of provinces in the American Church is not so happy, but the chapter concludes with a description of three great successes—the Church Pension Fund, the *Hymnal 1916*, and the Prayer Book of 1928.

"Events and Movements of the Time," Chapter XXII, considers first the effects of World War I upon the Church, including the case of Bishop Paul Jones, and the work of the Army and Navy Commission.

The Nation-Wide Campaign of 1919 and after, "Buchmanism" or the Oxford Group Movement, and the Emmanuel Movement of Boston, are next discussed. The "Crisis Theology" of Barth and Brunner, the hot controversies within several Protestant denominations—especially among the Presbyterians and the Baptists—are reviewed by way of contrast to the relaxation of party strife within the Episcopal Church. Two groups are credited with doing much to produce this latter condition: Liberal Evangelicalism and Liberal Catholicism.

The volume of essays, *Liberal Evangelicalism* (English, 1923), and two Anglo-Catholic publications, *Essays, Catholic and Critical* (English, 1926) and *Liberal Catholicism in the Modern World* (American, 1924), are summarized.

The noted Swedish authority on modern English Church History, Dr. Y. Brilioth, present bishop of Vaxjo, Sweden, is quoted as writing in 1933:

"Today, an observer of the two movements . . . must be struck by the fact of their mutual interpenetration. . . . The contributions of Evangelicalism to the Anglo-Catholic worship and piety is perhaps more important than is sometimes assumed. An analysis [of the above mentioned volumes] could certainly show how much the teaching of both schools had been influenced by each other. Neither can be understood if the contributions from the other side are ignored. The friendly competition, their fruitful interaction is essential for the life of the Anglican Church and the fulfilling of its task in the Church Universal."

"Christianizing the Social Order," Chapter XXIII, surveys the social teaching of the era preceding World War I, especially that represented by Walter Rauschenbusch, and presents the work of the Epis-



copal Church in all three fields of activity: (1) books, (2) pronouncements, and (3) agencies. The history of the marriage canon through 1931 is outlined.

"Progress in Christian Education," (Chapter XXIV), was reflected in the development of a national program, from the Sunday school through college, over a period of fifteen years, finally heading up a department of the National Council in 1920.

"The Church colleges were improving in quality as the twentieth century progressed," and "theological education made highly encouraging progress."

The shortage of clergy was highlighted by a study of the clergy ordained between October, 1922, and September, 1925. Of the 77% who replied, only 69% had been brought up in the Anglican Communion. Church families were not doing their duty in giving of their sons to the ministry.

The College of Preachers began in 1924 its distinguished service to the Church, whereby some 3,000 clergy have benefitted from post-graduate training.

"The Expanding Church" (Chapter XXV) was made possible because of the fact that

"during the first twenty years of the twentieth century the number of communicants in the Church increased fifty per cent. Within the same period the annual amount contributed to the domestic and foreign missionary work of the national Church and the number of missionaries sent out increased more than five hundred per cent."

At home, the expansion of the Church "can be more readily recorded in terms of racial groups and types of work," especially in rural areas and among Indians and Negroes. This century saw four extra-continental jurisdictions added to the Church's missionary responsibility—Honolulu, Panama Canal Zone, Puerto Rico, and the Philippine Islands.

Cuba was organized as a missionary district in 1904, and the progress in the other areas abroad is described.

"Types of Leadership" (Chapter XXVI) in this generation are illustrated in the persons of William Lawrence and Charles Henry Brent. Every one will welcome these fine portraits of two such famous bishops.

The last chapter, XXVII, "Faith and Order," treats of the Ecumenical Movement:

"During the first half of the twentieth century there was greater progress toward Church unity than in all the centuries since the Reformation; and in that advance the Anglican Communion played an honorable part, and the Christian forces in America were especially active."

Canon 19 of 1907, the Concordate of 1919 with the Congregationalists (which proved abortive), and the approaches to other Christian bodies, are dealt with, but the most valuable contribution of the American Episcopal Church to the Ecumenical Movement was its leadership in bringing about the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne in 1927. This conference is well expounded.

Dr. Addison ends his work with the year 1931 for the very good reasons mentioned in the Preface.

The book is beautifully printed in eleven point Baskerville type, two points leaded, or as we say, "eleven on thirteen."

#### THE AUTHOR'S "EPILOGUE"

Throughout the pages that have recorded the history of the Episcopal Church during a century and a half we have frequently noted with unsparing frankness the limitations, the failures, the faults, and even the sins of the Church. We have not overlooked, where they have appeared, the examples of its timidity and its lethargy. We have acknowledged the extent to which its numbers have been so largely restricted to the cities. We have taken no satisfaction in its high social prestige, knowing its small influence among the farmers and in the ranks of labor. We have not disguised the fact that in pursuit of the reunion of Christendom its words have spoken louder than its actions. And our story has made clear how inadequate still remain its endeavors in the missionary field, in Christian education, and in forwarding the Christian solution of social problems. Such an effort at objective honesty seemed to be demanded of any record that aimed to be not propaganda but history.

Surely, then, in closing, we have earned the right to point, with equal regard for veracity, to what is noblest in the Church,—to those virtues which have given it an influence far out of proportion to its numbers, which have drawn to it new strength from other communions, and which have contributed to the enrichment of American Christianity.

The Episcopal Church has long since become *genuinely* American, but just because in many ways it is not *typically* American it can offer to religion certain elements for lack of which this country would be the poorer. In spite of distinctions from each other in which they may properly take pride,

the many and obvious likenesses among Protestant denominations make all the more valuable the life and work of a Church which can transmit a Catholic heritage that is not Roman but Reformed.

From its Catholic inheritance the Church draws an interpretation of personal and social morality often at odds with the traditions of Puritanism, but by its sanity exempt from the reactions that so often have followed "the rule of the saints." By emphasizing in religion the mind and the will rather than the emotions, the Church is prepared to avoid both the excitement and the depression that attend the practices of revivalism. By its characteristic stress upon the slow processes of Christian nurture the Church has acknowledged the genuineness of the "once-born" type of Christian experience and has encouraged its development. By its respect for the achievements of intellect the Church (however tardily) has been foremost among major Christian bodies in welcoming the results of scientific advance, escaping thereby the consequences of "Fundamentalism," which can only alienate the rising generation.

In the midst of twentieth-century democracy the Church maintains the principle of authority in the tradition of the episcopate and the principle of freedom in a constitution and system of government thoroughly democratic. That same combination of authority and freedom prevails in the sphere of doctrine and teaching. The two simplest of creeds, steadfast as guides and landmarks, are consistent with wide liberty in the interpretation of theology and in the preaching of the Gospel. Indeed, the very fact that the Church is both Catholic and Reformed constitutes it a wholesome public example of the power of deep conviction to resist the passion for uniformity, to endure tension, and even to profit from it. In no other Christian body is such wide difference of opinion and temperament combined with the capacity for united corporate action and continuous fellowship. So far as the Church is true to its Anglican tradition of comprehensiveness it remains a standing rebuke to that organized uniformity which is sectarianism. It serves no less, by its very existence, as a lively encouragement to those plans for organic union which call for uniting into one body Churches primarily Catholic and Churches primarily Protestant. Having long flourished as a Church incorporating both elements, the Episcopal Church can offer itself not as the model of an ideal Church in the sight of God, but at least as an example of unity in diversity.

Finally, in its emphasis upon worship the Episcopal Church bears witness to a truth too easily ignored or forgotten among a people intensely practical—the truth that the highest privilege of the Church is worship, and that worship is not mainly instruction and exhortation. Thanks to a liturgical heritage which has drawn treasures from every age of Christian history,

beauty of form and richness of content are at the disposal of the humblest congregation. And thanks to the central place increasingly accorded to the Holy Communion, worship may the more readily become so selfless and objective that it rises to its highest manifestation in adoration.

#### THE REVIEWER'S CONCLUSION

One rises from the study of this volume with a tremendous lift of the spirit. Here is a Church whose sins of omission and commission have been many, whose failures in rising to its responsibilities have been not a few, whose response to opportunities has too often been sluggish. But when all has been said against it, the record shows that here is a Church which has "increased in wisdom and stature," and, we are bold to say, "in favor with God and man." Here is a Church whose golden age is not in the past, but in the future, and for which "the best is yet to be."

When the other historians of the Church have read this volume, we venture to prophesy that scarcely a one will be found who will not say, "I wish I might have written such a book!"

## The Latin Middle Ages in "The Hymnal 1940"\*

By Richard G. Salomon†



THE year 1949 is in our memory as the year of the Prayer Book jubilee. Many articles and perhaps books celebrating the occasion have been published. Yet if we look over the literary production of the Church in the last year, searching for the most important, the most impressive book—the "Book of the Year" with a capital B and a capital Y—we find, with some surprise, that this book is not concerned with the Prayer Book, but with its younger brother, the Hymnal. I do not hesitate to say that *The Hymnal 1940 Companion*, which was published by the Church Pension Fund in 1949, is the richest and most valuable gift we have received in a long time. My acquaintance with it is of very recent date; but the first impression was so strong that I feel an urge to share something of it with you. There is none among you who will ever be able to dispense with it, once you have become acquainted. It will be a friend for life.

The *Companion* is the collective work of the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal, a group of about thirty specialists: priests, church musicians and linguists. Some of them have already passed away; the best known among them being Bishop Herman Page and Canon Winfred Douglas, whose portrait was deservedly chosen as frontispiece for the volume. The *Companion* shows that nobody has left a stronger personal imprint on the Hymnal of 1940 than this great liturgiologist, linguist and musicologist.

The Commission has done a splendid job of scientific thoroughness and clear presentation of sometimes very intricate problems. The work consists mainly of two parts: the first is a running commentary to the 600 hymns in the sequence in which they appear in the Hymnal. It gives the history of the text of each one, its connexion with the Bible or old liturgy. If our text is a translation—and out of the 600 no less than 170 are translations—the *Companion* offers the original text. In addi-

\*An address delivered in the chapel of Bexley Hall, Gambier, Ohio. Evidences of its oral delivery have been deliberately retained.—*Editor's note.*

†Dr. Salomon is professor of Church history, Bexley Hall, Gambier, Ohio, and is a member of the Joint Commission of General Convention on the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—*Editor's note.*

tion to this, the sources of the tune are indicated. The second part is a very substantial biographical dictionary of all poets, translators and composers, and lists their contributions individually.

I do not think I am exaggerating if I say that this *Companion* is the key that opened the door to the riches of the Hymnal. Now only are we able to see the book in its right perspective, to see the depth of the historical development out of which the Hymnal has grown, the overwhelming amount of poetic and musical imagination and patient scholarly work which is between the two covers of the blue or red book. Now only, with this material in hand, can we easily evaluate the literary merits, or in other cases the weaknesses, of every hymn.

Some statistical tables, well organized, allow a quick survey of the inclusiveness of the Hymnal, which has drawn freely on every century and on the hymn production of many other religious bodies: Roman Catholic and Baptist, Lutheran and Methodist, and so forth.

There is no department in our seminary that will not put the book to good use: not alone Practical Theology and Church Music will consult it again and again. The reflexes of the Old and the New Testament in the Hymnal are subjects attractive enough. I should not be too surprised to see a book announced some day under the title, "The Preaching Values of the Hymnal."

My personal approach to the work is, of course, from the historical side. I never realized before how much the collection of hymns owes to the Christian Middle Ages. A little more than one-sixth of the 600 is based on Greek and Latin texts. Let us discuss some of them. This is like a very hasty walk through a splendid art collection, with only one minute to spare for a Titian, another minute for a Botticelli, and thirty seconds for a Constable, many other great pictures remaining unlooked at. But I think such a short inspection is better than nothing.

Not all the hymns, of course, are great art. For special considerations things of lesser significance have been retained: hymns which are either very popular or appealing to certain types of congregations. So the little rhymester is occasionally tucked in between real poets.

The tunes I leave out of consideration. More hesitantly, I also omit the Greek sources, restricting myself to some Latin ones. Greek just cannot be done in so short a time, as you know from experience. Perhaps another time.

From now on, an examining chaplain will act quite legitimately and not expose himself to the reproach of asking catch-questions, if he asks you: What is the oldest piece in the Hymnal? I admit that I could not



have answered the question a week ago. Now I know. It is No. 195, "Father, we thank Thee," a paraphrase of some sentences of the *Didache*. Then follows No. 81 "Sunset to sunrise changes now," the author being our old friend, Clement of Alexandria. Simultaneously, both these oldest hymns are the youngest in English: they were translated only in 1938/39. The third oldest, however, is Latin, No. 20, "Of the Father's love begotten," the work of a Christian poet, Prudentius, a contemporary of St. Augustine. And with this we enter into the hall of the Latins. Familiar names are among them: St. Ambrose, Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux, Gregory the Great, Abelard, St. Francis—not to mention the less popular ones.

Let us choose some from various centuries.

To start early: you all know the processional: "The royal banners forward go" (No. 63). The original, "Vexilla regis," was written in France by a rather gifted poet of the wild age of Clovis' sons and grandsons, Venantius Fortunatus; and we even know for what occasion. In 569, the Byzantine emperor had sent the most precious gift in the world to the queen of the Franks: a relic of the Holy Cross, and for receiving it in the monastery of Poitiers with highest solemnity the hymn was written.

From about the same time is, "Now that the daylight fills the sky" (No. 159). "Jam lucis orto sidere"—originally a so-called office hymn, sung in the office of the prime in Anglo-Irish monastic services. But it has spread out over all Europe. We have quite a few of such old office hymns in the Hymnal, for instance, "Come, Holy Ghost, with God the Son" (No. 160), perhaps written by St. Ambrose.

These office hymns had their fixed place in the service books, and even now you find many of them in the Roman Breviary. Our Prayer Book, as you know, has only one—and this one twice—the "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire."

From the seventh century, we have the Communion hymn, "Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord" (No. 202), I think the only piece taken directly from the poetry of the old Irish Church. The original text, in a peculiarly rough but grandiose Latin, is in one of the oldest Irish manuscripts, the Antiphoner of Bangor in Ireland, the famous mother-monastery for Bangor in Wales.

If we proceed to the ninth century, we find for instance the well-known Advent hymn, "O come, O come, Emmanuel" (No. 2), in which every one of the seven stanzas begins with "O come." This turns out to be a free rendering of seven antiphons, all beginning with "O":

O sapientia—O Wisdom  
 O Adonai  
 O radix Jesse—O root of Jesse,

etc., and generally known as the "Great O's." In monastic service each one of these O's was assigned to one of the dignitaries of the monastery: the abbot sang the "O sapientia," the prior "O Adonai," the gardener, most fittingly, "O root of Jesse," etc.

With the eleventh century, we come most directly into Church history as we know it. Some of you will remember that we spoke about the Cluniac on the German throne, Emperor Henry III, and we heard that he received his education from a clergyman steeped in Cluniac tradition. Here we meet this educator once more. His name is Wipo, and he is the author of the great plainsong sequence for Easter, "Christians, to the Paschal victim" (No. 97). I do not think I have to explain what a sequence is. Well, in case I have, I will say briefly, that the sequence is a song following the gradual. There was a wealth of such sequences in older service books. The Council of Trent cancelled all but four, which are still allowed in the Roman Church, and a fifth one was introduced later on. This Easter sequence of Wipo is one of the four. All five are in our Hymnal too.

The great Abelard, one of the fathers of Scholasticism, is represented with several hymns, as well he should, for he is the author of a whole and complete hymnal himself, a forerunner of our book. It is the "Hymnarius Paraclitensis," the hymn book for the nunnery of the Comforter at Nogent, where his once beloved Heloise had taken the veil.

Abelard's great contemporary and persecutor, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, comes to us not directly but through a medium. "O sacred head, sore wounded" (No. 75), with its unforgettable tune, the favorite of Johann Sebastian Bach, is translated from a German hymn of Paulus Gerhardt, a great poet of the seventeenth century. But Gerhardt's text in its turn is based on a rhythmical prayer which is ascribed with a good deal of likelihood to St. Bernard.

And now from St. Bernard, the austere, to the most amiable of all saints—to St. Francis. Thanks to the talent of a great translator, Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins (now retired from his professorship at the General Theological Seminary,) the Hymnal was enriched in its last edition by one of the immortal pearls of religious poetry, the famous "Cantico di Frate Sole," the "Song of Brother Sun," which is generally ascribed to St. Francis. The translation, "Most high, omnipotent, good Lord" (No. 307), is very good, and comes, it seems to me, as near to the original as possible. The Saint invites the creation to praise

the Lord: Brother Sun and Sister Moon, Brother Wind and Brother Fire, Sister Water and Mother Earth shall praise Him. But however fine the translation is, in its rhythmical prosody it cannot reach the indescribable effect of the touching simplicity and straightforwardness of the original, which by the way is written in old Italian, not in Latin.

St. Francis' century, the thirteenth, was, as you know, an age of deep religious movements, the century of prophets as well as great theologians, the great time of scholasticism, the age of culmination of papal authority. There is a galaxy of great names: Innocent III, Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Raymond of Peñaforte—none of them, however, more respected, or should I say venerated, than that of Thomas Aquinas. You know the awe-inspiring series of the twenty-two volumes of the *Summa Theologica*. The Hymnal will introduce him to you in an easier way. Thomas is represented here with no less than six Communion hymns, of which I can mention only two: "Sion, praise thy Saviour singing" (No. 193), and "Very Bread, good Shepherd, tend us" (No. 194). The original text of these two is considerably longer than what we sing, and for a cause. The hymns were written by papal order in order to celebrate a miracle. A priest in the city of Bolsena in Italy doubted the fact of transubstantiation, which, as you know, had just in 1215 become a dogma of the Church. To his amazement, he saw when celebrating some drops of blood appearing on the consecrated host. He confessed his error to the pope, who, in order to impress this miracle on the world, instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, and ordered Thomas to compose a special office for the day. The Mass of Bolsena—as later on glorified in Raphael's famous picture—is the occasion of our hymns. Thomas Aquinas put the whole doctrine of transubstantiation in strict dogmatic correctness into his poem. This was a little more than an Anglican hymnal can take; hence our abbreviated form, which still is impressive enough.

Another type of thirteenth century Italian piety is represented in the famous "Stabat Mater" ("At the Cross her station keeping," No. 76), one of the five permitted sequences, which still betrays its origin from private meditation, a prayer to the Virgin standing at the Cross. The text, insatiable in the description of grief and pain and sorrow, will not be equally acceptable to all Anglicans; it impresses me as the most typically Roman Catholic of the great hymns.

Unequaled in sombre majesty is another one of these sequences, also from Italy and from the thirteenth century, the great "Dies Irae" ("Day of wrath, O day of mourning," No. 468). The Dies Irae is now an integrating part of the Mass for the Dead in the Roman Catholic Church,

and thus very well-known to Roman Catholics; less known to us. It is very long, and the plainsong tune in the Hymnal is not easy to sing. The naive modern friend of music usually prefers the classic compositions of the famous text, most of all Mozart's immortal setting in the "Requiem," which to our mind seems to do more justice to the overwhelming dramatic power of the poem than does the plainsong. In seventeen stanzas of three lines each, with the sonorous rhymes characteristic of the later medieval Latin lyrics, the hymn stands there, stately and almost forbidding, like a gigantic monument in stone:

Dies irae, dies illa  
Solvat saeculum in favilla  
Teste David cum Sibylla.

Day of wrath, O day of mourning!  
See fulfilled the prophet's warning,  
Heaven and earth in ashes burning!

The poem is clearly built up in two parts: the first third a colossal picture of the Last Judgment, a variation of the verses of Zephaniah 1:15, 16.

"That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness; a day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities, and against the high towers."

All this transposed into the granitic rigidity of the Latin:

Mors stupebit et natura . . .

Death is struck, and nature shaking . . .

The second part, twice as long as the first, is a prayer for mercy to God the "Rex tremendae maiestatis," the "King of majesty tremendous."

We do not know who wrote this great poem. It is often ascribed to an associate of St. Francis, Thomas of Celano, but the learned authors of the *Companion* consider this as unproved. It does not matter much who the author is. I even venture to say that anonymity seems more adequate to this great embodiment of medieval Christianity. Countless people have tried to translate the Dies Irae into all languages. From the *Companion* we learn that there are about 150 translations into English alone; the one in the Hymnal is not bad, but English just does not

have the rigidity of Latin, and so the text in English looks like the transposition of a melody from a major key into a minor one. I think Winfred Douglas is right when stating that no translation will ever be adequate to convey the sonorous majesty of the original.

In contrast to the *Dies Irae*, the last of the great hymns which I will mention is very well known to us: the Whitsunday hymn, "O Come, Creator Spirit, Come" (No. 108)—"Veni Creator Spiritus," a work of the ninth century. As I already mentioned, this is the only hymn that found admittance into the Book of Common Prayer. In the Hymnal, it appears no less than four times in four different translations and with four different tunes. The *Veni Creator* has tempted the skill of many translators. A comparison of the translations in the Hymnal, together with an older one reprinted in the *Companion*, is an interesting study. Each one has its specific merits and demerits. It is not an easy task to match the precision of the Latin words in English; the translator often adds a word here, a word there, and so softens the impression.

The famous translation by Bishop Cosin (1627) is probably the most familiar to us (No. 217):

Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,  
And lighten with celestial fire.  
Thou the anointing spirit art,  
Who dost Thy sevenfold gifts impart.

No doubt but that this is irresistible and great poetry, but it is a paraphrase rather than a close translation. "Holy Ghost" just is not the same as "Creator Spiritus."

John Dryden's attempt of 1693 avoids this distortion; but otherwise it is an even more loose and somewhat watery paraphrase (No. 371):

Creator spirit, by whose aid  
The world's foundations were first laid,  
Come, visit every humble mind;  
Come, pour Thy joys on humankind.

There is nothing in the original of "humble mind," or "joy" or "world's foundations."

Dissatisfied with such distortions, the Hymnal Commission prepared its own new translation, and did a pretty good job (No. 108):

O come, Creator Spirit, come  
And make within our souls Thy home;  
Supply Thy grace and heavenly aid  
To fill the hearts which Thou has made.

This is very close to the original, closer than any of the older forms, and good English to boot.

But you never can tell; if you read on in this modern translation (No. 108) you find the fifth stanza:

Drive far away our *spirit's* foe,  
Thine own *abiding* peace bestow;  
If Thou dost go before as guide,  
No evil can *our steps betide*.

At least five words too much which are not in the original—not to mention that “betide” is a little hard on us.

Here old Cosin gets the prize:

Keep far our foes, give peace at home:  
Where Thou art guide, no ill can come.

This is masterly. It is exactly what the original says, in plain English.

“Veni Creator Spiritus.” Adolf Harnack once suggested these words as a fitting motto to be inscribed over the door of a great library. It might be a fitting device for our work here, too.

I think what I have told you will be enough for this evening. I meant to show you one of many possible ways of approach to the Hymnal. You will find other and perhaps more interesting ways for yourself if you make use of this new and excellent guide called the *Companion*. Of course, the *Companion* was planned to be a reference book; but if you consult it for a serious purpose, you will discover with surprise, as I did, that Hymnal and *Companion*, taken together, make a very readable book. The art of cross-reference reading is not to be despised and as you practice it with the *Companion*, you will feel the same as I do—gratefully obliged to the Joint Commission who gave us this precious instrument.

## Impressions of the Episcopal Church in 1867\*

By Gardiner C. Tucker†

**A**S a variation from the usual form of historical articles, it seemed to me not unfitting that I should try to give my impressions of our Church when I first became acquainted with it, some sixty-five years ago.‡ I was then a lad of sixteen, and having been raised in an ecclesiastical environment whose ideas and ways were quite different from ours, the variations made a sharp impression on my mind. Yet in many things there was a similitude, for the churchmanship was of an extremely low kind, Evangelical, I suppose it might be called. The newer and more active members of the congregation had come into the Church from the Protestant denominations, bringing with them, as I did, habits of thought and usage of that training, and particularly desirous of avoiding anything that savored of Roman Catholicism.

Many of them had been accused of taking a long step in the direction of the hated, dreaded Roman Church when they announced their intention of becoming Episcopalians. So they were watchful and suspicious of everything that even smelled Romish. Then, too, the older members were aristocratically conservative, and resented any change in

\*Originally published as "The Report of the Historiographer" in the *Journal of the Twelfth Synod of the Province of Sewanee*, 1932, pp. 60-64. We are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., professor of Church history in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, for calling this to our attention.—*Editor's Note*.

†GARDINER CHYLSON TUCKER (October 1, 1851-November 10, 1941) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, the son of the Rev. Levi Tucker and Jeanette Griswold (Lee). He was educated at Shurtleff College. On December 13, 1873, he married Melville Leigh Eckford, and to this union eight children were born. Deacon: March 27, 1881; priest: July 7, 1882; both ordinations at the hands of Dr. Charles F. Robertson, second bishop of Missouri.

*Cures:* Christ Church, Collingsville, Illinois, 1882-1883; St. James' Church, St. Louis, Missouri, 1883-1885; and rector of St. John's Church, Mobile, Alabama, from 1885 until his death—a rectorship of 56 years.

In 1931, at the age of 80, the University of the South conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity.

Dr. Tucker served his diocese in various capacities: as a member of the standing committee, 1888-1890; as an examining chaplain, 1890, until his death; as a deputy to the General Convention, 1892 and 1922. He was historiographer of the province of Sewanee, and the following is one of his reports in this office.—*Editor's note*.

‡Dr. Tucker wrote this in 1932, which would mean that he was referring to the post-Civil War era.—*Editor's note*.



the form and order to which they had been accustomed. Many a sermon have I heard from texts similar to "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark." Only, the landmarks were highly imaginary, and varied with the speaker's ideas.

The church building was quite plain, the main difference between it and a Protestant "Meeting House" being the possession of a steeple or tower, and a recess chancel. But inside there was always the broad aisle reaching from the front door to the chancel, instead of the two side aisles customary in the meeting houses. The windows varied; some were pointed, some square, but the glass was almost always plain. The altar was distinctly a table with some sort of legs, and without a cross or flower vases or lights of any kind. A white linen cloth covered it, sometimes having a fringe five or six inches wide. I do not remember whether the three steps up to the altar were usual or not, but I know that in some cases the altar was on the same level as the rest of the sanctuary. In one church there were tall tablets on each side of the chancel arch, facing the congregation, one bearing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, the other the Ten Commandments, in large illuminated lettering.

The minister wore a black cassock, and a quite full surplice that reached to his ankles. The stole was almost universally black, long, below the knees, six or eight inches wide, and with fringed ends. Sometimes there was a design worked in gold thread on the ends, but that was considered rather foppish. On the high festivals of Christmas and Easter, considerable latitude was allowed in the decoration of the church.

Early celebrations were not common. The principle service was at 10:30 or 11, and consisted of full Morning Prayer, with the Ante Communion and often the Litany, and lasted about an hour and a half. The sermon was long, a half hour at least, and was always written, "extemporary" preaching being regarded as undignified, and too much like the "exhorters."

On the first Sunday of the month, the Holy Communion followed Morning Prayer. Wafer bread and the mixed chalice were regarded as Romish practice and consequently abhorred.

Whenever possible the organ and choir were placed in a loft or gallery over the entrance to the church, and the members [of the choir] wore their ordinary Sunday clothes. There was little chanting done.

In those days the psalms (metrical) and hymns were bound together with the Prayer Book. The hymnal that we use now, was then unknown.

The Sunday—not Church—School was a rather dreary affair. Lesson papers, picture cards, banners, and the other aids and paraphernalia,

had not come into use. As I remember, the instruction book was a small volume containing lessons on the Bible and the catechism. The songs we sung were very pious and very boring. At a rule, the children stayed for the service and sat in the pew with their parents.

When many of the older churches were built, the subscribers to the building fund were given the right to own a pew in the proposed building in fee simple, which they could sell or dispose of by will the same as any other item of their property. In several churches that I know of, these pews had doors with locks and keys, so that the pew owner could be certain that his property in the House of God could not be used without his consent. Sometimes, when his family was large, his pew occupied a double space, and the partitions around it were about breast high. The seat proper faced the chancel, while on one end and the other side was a broad bench on which the babies and young children were laid to sleep.

It must have been somewhere in the 50's that the movement for free church sitting began. Naturally, it was strongly opposed by the conservative element, who felt that they had the same exclusive right to their places in church that they had to their personal homes. Where the church had galleries, strangers and visitors were assigned places in them, but as these had formerly been the quarters of the Negroes, white people did not care to occupy them. As a compromise, the vestries bought back or reserved a number of pews in the back of the church, and assigned them for the use of strangers.

There was also an economic side to the pew ownership question. Bishop [Richard Hooker] Wilmer of Alabama told me that his experience had tallied with that of Bishop [William] Meade of Virginia, that it was the revenue from the churches with rented pews which enabled the Church to carry on her work. The few free churches were always in financial difficulties, and rarely had more than a pittance to spare for anything outside of themselves. It was not until after the Civil War that the idea of responsibility to God for all material possessions, became an active factor in the lives of the people. True, there had been some missionary work, but it was largely an individual enterprise. By most people it was looked on as a piously romantic adventure, a sort of modern crusade. And something of the sort seems to have been in the minds of the missionaries themselves. It was Carey, the first English missionary to India, who said to friends on his departure: "Yes, I am going down into the pit of heathen darkness, but you must hold the rope."

Nearly every self-supporting parish had some kind of a rectory, but parish houses were few and far between. Sometimes a parish had an

office or rooms in the business section, but there were few buildings erected for the work of the parish itself.

Sunday was a quiet, peaceful day. All the children went to Sunday School, and all the respectable grown ups went to church. To stay away habitually from service marked one as a social delinquent, to say no worse.

Denominational lines were pretty carefully observed. One had to have a reasonable excuse for attending any other church than one's own. It gave the young people, say of the Presbyterian congregation, a sort of a thrill to go to the Methodist Church, as if one were venturing on hostile ground. Of course this feeling was intensified if a Protestant strayed over to the Episcopal service.

The quietude of the day was not broken by excursions, there were no Sunday papers, no "movies," no radio, no baseball, no golf. After dinner, always the most bountiful and elaborate meal of the week, the seniors went to sleep, while the younger ones took decorous walks, or if fortunate, went buggy riding. The children were not confined to the house: they could play in the yards, provided they made no loud noise.

The time of Evening Prayer was either about five, or else "early candle lighting." It was considerably shorter than the morning service and was well attended. Pretty much everybody was in bed by eleven o'clock. Even the dogs seemed to know that it was Sunday, and behaved accordingly.

Looking back at those days from this distance of years, one would think that life then must have been flat, dull and unenjoyable. But we did not find it at all so then. True, we were limited, prejudiced, and ignorant as compared with today, yet we were happy in our quiet way. We loved God and tried to serve Him, and He gave us much pleasantness and peace. As for knowledge, I am quite sure that it has brought to us, as to our first parents, more of evil and sorrow than it has of goodness and peace. I have no wish to go back; I am glad to be alive and fighting today.

## "Stowe's Clerical Directory, 1950"\*

By Gordon Fearey†

**I**N December, 1950, *Stowe's Clerical Directory, 1950*, came off the press. It contains brief but comprehensive biographies of the 6,600 clergymen and 142 deaconesses of the Episcopal Church. No other directory publishes biographical data on the entire clergy group.

Biographical data have been obtained from the individual in each case, and these include addresses, churches served and other offices, all principal dates, family data, and important writings. In the relatively few cases where questionnaires have not been returned by the individual clergymen, the information as last reported is used, complemented from the up-to-date records of The Church Pension Fund. The new edition contains an unusually large number of new names, reflecting the greater than average number of new ordinations and receptions in the three years since the 1947 edition went to press. To quote from the preface of the 1950 edition:

"By the nature of its operations, [The Church Pension] Fund is one of the most important data-collecting units of the Church. It is continually in touch with the clergy and Church officials on pension matters, and has served also since 1943, by appointment of General Convention, as Recorder of Ordinations and related occurrences. These activities are centered, at its office in New York, in its most efficient Assistant Secretary, Miss Marjorie Hillman. The high standard of editorship of the *Directory* derives from her work.

"This is an important publication. . . . Its main value is as a reference book for use by the clergy, the parishes and the diocesan organizations. The editor has taken all reasonable care in achieving accuracy. The cooperation of the clergy themselves in supplying the biographical data is very necessary to maintaining the standard of accuracy and inclusiveness. Some (a very few) choose not to answer requests for information. To this extent incompleteness exists. This is unfortunate. But for the most part the clergy have cooperated fully.

"The *Directory* is not a profit venture. It cannot be. As

\**Stowe's Clerical Directory of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1950*. Edited and published by The Church Hymnal Corporation for The Church Pension Fund (1950, 20 Exchange Place, New York 5), pp. vi, 390. \$5.00.

†Mr. Fearey is secretary of The Church Hymnal Corporation.—*Editor's note*.

true of many directories, this one is invaluable to those who use it, but the number using it is not large when the meeting of publication costs is the concern. These costs are not covered completely by the proceeds of sales and the income from the advertisement pages [37]—incidentally a very useful section of the book to those who own it.

"The possibility is being explored of including photographs of the clergy as an additional interest focus. The cost of this could be covered if it led to greatly increased purchases of the book. The historical value of a step of this sort—the *Directory* as an historical record cannot be overstated—can readily be imagined. The current interest and usefulness would be enhanced in even greater degree.

"We urge the clergy and officials of the Church to make full use of the *Directory*, and suggest that those who are familiar with it bring it to the attention of others who have use for it and prevail upon local public and other libraries to carry the book on their shelves."

The history of the *Directory* is itself interesting.<sup>1</sup> It was begun in 1898 by the Rev. Frederic E. J. Lloyd as *Lloyd's Clerical Directory*, who published six issues: 1898, 1903, 1905, 1910, 1911, and 1913.

In 1916 it was purchased by the Rev. Andrew D. Stowe, D. D. (April 21, 1851-August 3, 1925), of Minneapolis, Minnesota, who gave it his own name. Three issues—1917, 1920, and 1924—were personally edited and published by him.

Following Dr. Stowe's death, the *Directory* was continued by his daughter, Mrs. Grace Stowe Fish, who edited and published the issues of 1926, 1929, 1932, 1935, and 1938. She continued her father's policy of publishing it in the year immediately following the session of the General Convention.

In 1940 Mrs. Fish sold the *Directory* to The Church Pension Fund, which has retained the name and has published the editions of 1941 and 1947 (the 1944 edition having been omitted because of the wartime paper shortage). The current edition—1950—is, therefore, the seventeenth, counting *Lloyd's* of 1898 as the first.

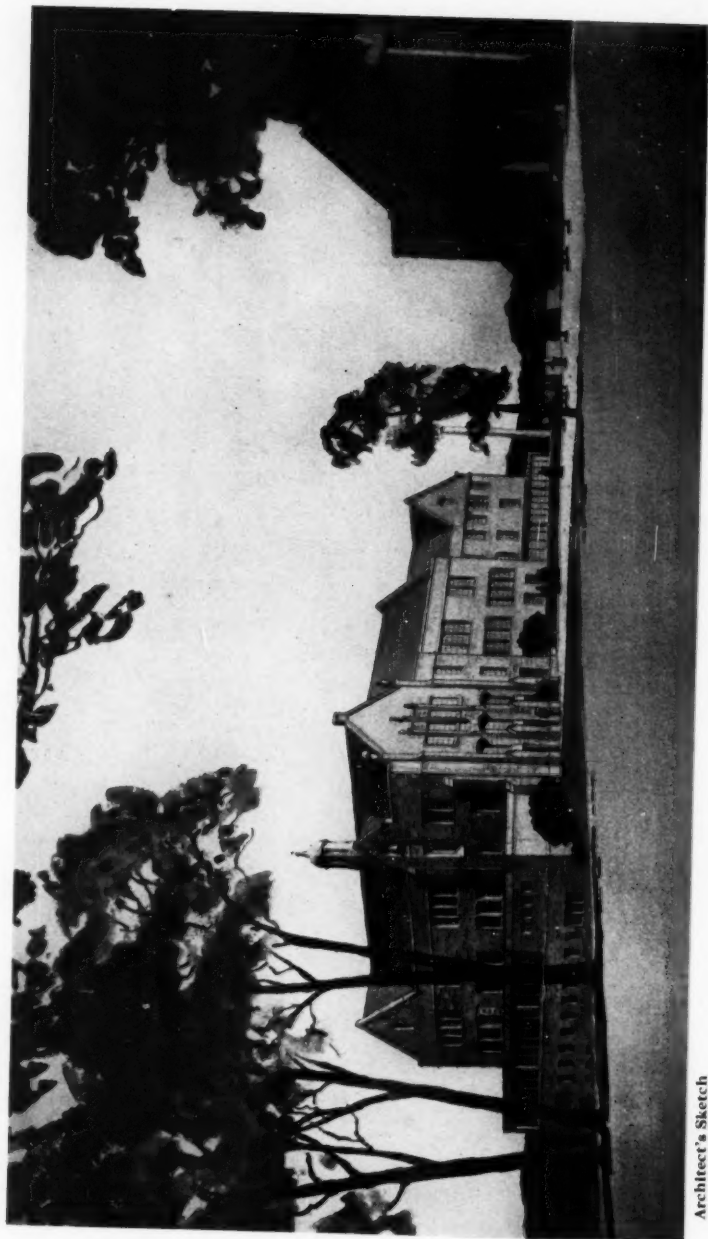
The value of the *Directory* to Church historians and biographers was well stated ten years ago by the present editor-in-chief of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and a nephew of the late Dr. Andrew D. Stowe:

"It is patent that the student of twentieth century ecclesiastical biography will possess a much greater abundance of accurate data concerning the rank and file of the clergy than his colleague laboring in the same field of preceding centuries."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Walter H. Stowe, "Clerical Directories—Past and Present," in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. X (1941), pp. 390-398, for more details.

<sup>2</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 398.





Architect's Sketch


THE TRINITY COLLEGE—WATKINSON LIBRARY  
Hartford, Connecticut

R. B. O'Connor and W. H. Kilham, Jr.,  
Architects



# The Trinity College—Watkinson Library

By Robert M. Bishop\*

ISING at the academic center of the Trinity College<sup>1</sup> campus in Hartford, Connecticut, is a new million-dollar library building, where the collections of Trinity College and the Watkinson Library of Reference will soon be merged to establish one of the nation's finest college libraries. After more than a century of careful collection of some 215,000 volumes in the college library, the merger with the 130,000 Watkinson books in a building incorporating latest library practices will at one stroke place Trinity's scholarly resources among the two or three strongest small-college libraries.

Churchmen have been responsible for major steps in the development of the library. David Watkinson was one of the seventeen Episcopal founders of the college in 1823, and in 1857 left \$100,000 in his will to found the Watkinson Library, then only a few blocks from the college campus. A succession of churchmen served as librarians at the college: since 1915 the office has been held by the Rev. Dr. Arthur Adams, who presides over the collections housed in a building given by J. P. Morgan in memory of Bishop John Williams.<sup>2</sup>

The merger of the two libraries is now made possible by a \$650,000 gift from the Old Dominion Foundation, established by Paul Mellon, while a substantial bequest for library purposes of \$325,000, in memory of George N. Hamlin, is also being used in construction of the new building.

The new library will have a storage capacity for 500,000 books on four levels, and will provide study space for 325 readers. Its exterior architecture will harmonize with older buildings which form America's first collegiate gothic quadrangle. The building will be of modular construction, and the interior will be flexibly planned for changes to meet future needs. Expansion in additional wings will also be possible.

\*The author is director of the public relations office of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.—*Author's note.*

<sup>1</sup>See Arthur Adams, "The Founding of Trinity College," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIV (1945), pp. 53-65.

<sup>2</sup>See Wm. A. Beardsley, "John Williams (1817-1899), Bishop of Connecticut, 1865-1899," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIV (1945), pp. 119-150.

The building will be 167 by 102 feet in size, and is designed to place the scholar in the center of open-stack book collections. The basement will be above ground level on two and a half sides, and will be used entirely for book stacks and book receiving rooms. The main floor will be on the level of the present campus quadrangle, with the main entrance on the quadrangle. It will contain the circulation desk, reading room, exhibition space, reference center, periodicals lounge, open reserves, library offices, and stacks. The second floor will include four seminar rooms and a conference room, in addition to the rest of the Trinity stacks and the Trinity treasure room. The Watkinson Library will be housed in locked stacks on the third floor, with a separate reading room, offices, and treasure room.

Trinity hopes to merge the libraries in the new building early in 1952. Recataloguing of the Watkinson books will be a five or six years' project. Planning for the new building and the merger is in charge of Donald B. Engley, associate librarian at Trinity.

The Trinity library was established immediately after the chartering of the College (under the name of Washington) in 1823. The Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton<sup>3</sup> that year visited England to procure books and philosophical instruments. The first catalogue of the new library was

<sup>3</sup>WHEATON, NATHANIEL SHELDON (August 20, 1792-March 18, 1862), was born in Marbledale, Washington township, Connecticut, the eldest son of Sylvester Wheaton and Mercy (Sperry). He was educated at the Cheshire Episcopal Academy; Yale, A. M., 1814; D. D., 1833.

While teaching in Maryland, he studied theology and was ordained by Bishop Kemp; deacon, June 7, 1817, and priest some time before 1820.

Rector, Christ Church, New Haven, 1820-1831. He was one of the original trustees of Washington (Trinity) College in 1823, and spent the period, September, 1823-November, 1824, in England, largely in the interests of the college. He also studied architecture there.

In 1828, his parish erected a new stone gothic church after his design. "His whole course as rector showed him as a man of piety, learning, high character, and administrative ability."

As he had succeeded Bishop Thomas Church Brownell as rector of Christ Church, New Haven, he now succeeded him as president of Washington (Trinity) College. "His presidency was marked by a notable increase in the funds of the institution, and by a marked improvement in the embellishment and care of the college grounds."

Because of Bishop Brownell's fostering care of Christ Church, New Orleans, Louisiana, Wheaton accepted the rectorship in 1837, "and labored there with fidelity until his resignation in 1844. During the ravages of yellow fever he was incessant in his devotion to the sufferers; and in consequence of an attack of the fever, he contracted severe dyspepsia, which never left him."

His health broken, he left for Europe in 1844, returned to Connecticut in 1845, and officiated as he was able. Being a bachelor with ample means, he settled in his native village, where he died in his 70th year.

He endowed the church in Marbledale with a rectory and grounds, and left three bequests to Trinity College: (1) his library; (2) \$10,000 for a chapel; (3) \$10,000 to its general fund.

"He was an engaging preacher, extremely simple in manner, and clear and unaffected in style. Under a reserved and sometimes cold exterior, he carried a warm and generous heart."—[See F. B. Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, VI, 717-721.]

published in November, 1824. Half of the books then listed are still preserved in the Trinity collections. On the old Washington College campus, at the present site of the State Capitol, the library was housed in the original Seabury Hall. When Trinity moved to its present campus in 1878, the library was housed in the present Seabury Hall and extended through three stories. Records of 1886 note that the library contained "26,000 books and 13,000 pamphlets, large and valuable additions having been made to its shelves within a few years."

In 1914 the 70,000 volumes and 40,000 pamphlets of the library were moved 500 feet north to the newly constructed Williams Memorial Building, which provided for 100 readers and expansion to 170,000 volumes. The College then numbered less than 225 students, compared with almost 900 today. Williams Memorial today bulges with 215,000 volumes, 70,000 pamphlets, and an unusually full collection of government documents.

Because of continued emphasis on Christian education by the college, the library is rich in ecclesiastical material, and its collections on the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church and its dioceses are probably equalled only by those of the library of the General Theological Seminary in New York. It is also strong in classics, literature, science and history. A recent study showed more than 800 titles in the history of science. Many single works of great value and interest are contained in the collections. Among them are two Greek manuscripts of the 12th century, several illuminated Latin Books of Hours of the 14th and 15th centuries, fine examples of books printed before 1500 (incunabula), rare mathematical and medical works of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the engraver's copy of Audubon's great work, *Birds of America*, and first editions of the books of many English and American writers whose works form a permanent part of literature. Prominent collections are the books on William Blake, the collection of Gipsy Books, the Moore collection relating to the Far East, and an extensive collection of books on Jamaica.

The Watkinson Library was actually opened in 1866 with 12,000 volumes on its shelves in the Wadsworth Atheneum building. The first librarian was James Hammond Trumbull, at one time Connecticut State Librarian, later Secretary of State of Connecticut during the Civil War period, bibliographer of Connecticut, and American Indian scholar, who served from 1863 until his death in 1893. He was succeeded by Frank B. Gay, another scholar and bibliographer, who served until he died in 1934. Among those who served apprenticeships as assistant librarians were William I. Fletcher, librarian of Amherst College and indexer with Frederick Poole of *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*;

William N. C. Carleton, librarian of the Williams College library, Trinity College Library and the Newberry Library in Chicago; and George B. Utley, librarian of the same Newberry Library and a president of the American Library Association. Since 1934, the library has been directed by Ruth A. Kerr, an assistant, trained by Mr. Gay, who has worked alone.

Under these noted bookmen, the Watkinson collections grew to an estimated 130,000 volumes and uncounted pamphlets, maps, sheet music, play bills, letters and other manuscripts. It occupies 19,250 feet of shelving—almost four miles of books. Primarily a general reference library in the humanities and arts, the Watkinson has a strong representation of standard encyclopedias, dictionaries, bibliographies, transactions of learned societies, and sets of early American and foreign periodicals. Its strength is in the fields of literature and history, with special attention to Connecticut, New England, and the Civil War. Other areas of note are linguistics, particularly American Indian dialects and related tongues, art and architecture, the history of printing and book illustration, heraldry, and genealogy. It contains some 190 incunabula, and another 959 books printed in the sixteenth century.

It has more than its share of specialties. Of particular note are the 1,000-volume Prime Collection of incunabula and early Bibles collected for their wood and copper engravings; many of the noted bookman's, George Brinley's, collection of Americana in the handsome bindings in which he enshrined his gems; 10,000 volumes of early American textbooks, collected by Henry Barnard, first U. S. Commissioner of Education; the correspondence of Charles Dudley Warner; a large quantity of early American sheet music; 19th century theater and concert programs; and old maps of the Connecticut River region.

The nostalgic 19th century quarters of the Watkinson Library in downtown Hartford are now closed to the public by fire department orders. In recent years, financial difficulties have prevented it from keeping abreast of modern library practices. Consequently, its books are deteriorating, and the information they contain is largely inaccessible because of lack of adequate shelving and cataloguing.

Under the energetic leadership of President G. Keith Funston, Trinity in 1947 and 1948 had been campaigning for funds for expanded library facilities as part of its million and a half dollar-125th Anniversary Development Program. Some \$400,000 had been earmarked for the library before the condition of the Watkinson Library came to the attention of President Funston. The College delayed building plans in 1949 while offering to restore the Watkinson books to usefulness if the library would merge with the Trinity Library. The

offer was approved by the Watkinson trustees, the Connecticut legislature, and the Superior Court. In a gift announced in 1949 as anonymous, Mr. Mellon promised the College \$300,000 to make possible the project, and increased his gift in 1950 to \$650,000 to permit the construction of an entirely new building.

Trinity's educational cornerstones are its faculty and its library. The faculty includes a number of outstanding educators known and honored throughout the world. The new library will be equally distinguished, providing a store of knowledge from which students and scholars, from wherever they may come, may plan a better future by examining the recorded experience of the past.

## Reviews

### I.

#### American Church History and Biography

*A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York: Part V, The Rectorship of Dr. Morgan Dix.* Compiled by John A. Dix, and edited by Leicester C. Lewis. Published for Trinity Church by Columbia University Press, New York, 1950. Pages xv, 316.

The first four volumes of this monumental work were edited by Dr. Morgan Dix, and published between 1898 and 1906.<sup>1</sup> Because Trinity Church, as the present bishop of London has said, is "unique throughout the whole of Christendom," the value of this *History* is patent. But beyond that, it has a special value due to the fact that there is no satisfactory history of the diocese of New York. Those parts of the original diocese which were set up, beginning in 1839, as the dioceses of Western New York and Albany, have very good histories,<sup>2</sup> but the mother diocese has nothing except *The Centennial History of the Diocese of New York, 1785-1885* (New York, 1886), pp. 454, edited by James Grant Wilson, and this has sharp limitations.

Students of the national history of the Church, as well as of New York diocesan history, have long used the first four volumes as a reference work. That the present volume is a welcome addition will be evidenced by two quotations, the first from page 3, and the second from the last page of the main text:

"The present volume takes up the history of Trinity Parish with the election of Dr. Morgan Dix to the rectorship, in 1862, after the death of Dr. Berrian. It carries through the forty-six busy years until the election of Dr.

<sup>1</sup>Part I: To the Close of the Rectorship of Dr. Inglis, 1783 (New York, 1898), pp. xvi, 506.

Part II: To the Close of the Rectorship of Dr. Moore, 1816 (New York, 1901), pp. xxi, 345.

Part III: The Rectorship of Dr. Hobart from February, 1816, to August, 1830 (New York, 1905), pp. xxiv, 538.

Part IV: The Close of the Rectorship of Dr. Hobart and the Rectorship of Dr. Berrian, to 1862 (New York, 1906), pp. xxi, 595.

The total number of pages in the five volumes: xevii, 2300.

<sup>2</sup>HAYES, CHARLES WELLS, *The Diocese of Western New York: History and Recollections* (Rochester, 1904), pp. x, 406.

BURROWS, G. SHERMAN, *The Diocese of Western New York, 1897-1931* (published by the Diocese, 1935), pp. xix, 565. [This is a sequel to HAYES, above.]

DEMILLE, GEORGE E., *A History of the Diocese of Albany, 1704-1923* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1946), pp. xii, 151.

William T. Manning on Dr. Dix's death in 1908. In the period covered by this volume more drastic changes took place in the life of the parish, the diocese, the city, and the nation than in all the unhurried course of Trinity's early history, even including the years when it was destroyed by fire and disrupted by the Revolution."

Page 272:

"Thus the story of the rectorate of Dr. Dix is more than merely the account of the ninth rector of Trinity Parish. It is rather the portrait of an epoch. From the years prior to the Civil War to the years prior to the first World War is an impressive span. The evolution of Western civilization and the history of our American people both evinced far-reaching changes during these fateful years. It is, however, the progress of Catholic belief and practice within the Episcopal Church which the life of Dr. Dix so triumphantly displays. By his life, teaching, and administration the Mother Church of the Diocese of New York took her stand firmly and squarely in the best traditions of historic Christianity. The proud memorial of the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral in London bids us, if we seek Wren's monument, 'look around.' Just as truly may it be said to anyone who inquires for the monument of Morgan Dix, 'go into Trinity Church at any time of day, and look around at those who pray.' The intensity of that ceaseless life of prayer is the abiding legacy of the ninth rector."

It will be generally conceded that Morgan Dix (November 1, 1827-April 29, 1908) was one of the greatest presbyters of his generation, and some would rank him as the greatest. A first rate biographical essay on him could be written from this volume alone.

In 1859, at the age of thirty-two, he was elected assistant rector; in 1862, during the Civil War, at the age of thirty-five, he succeeded Berrian as rector. Ordinarily, it would be very questionable to elect so young a man to so important a post, but time proved the wisdom of the choice, as five years later the consecration of Daniel Sylvester Tuttle as missionary bishop of Montana, Utah and Idaho was to be justified in the event.

When Dix became rector, the parish consisted of four congregations: the Mother Church, St. Paul's Chapel, St. John's Chapel, and Trinity Chapel. During his rectorship of forty-six years, the parish grew to ten congregations, the staff of clergy was increased to twenty-eight, and the roll of communicants grew to more than seven thousand. The six chapels added under his leadership were: St. Cornelius the Centurion, 1868; St. Chrysostom's, 1868; St. Augustine's, 1869; St. Luke's, 1892; St. Agnes', 1892; and the Intercession, 1908.

Dix's life not only touched on, but influenced considerably, many movements of the latter half of the nineteenth century. A whole chapter (III) is devoted to "The Churchmanship of Trinity Parish,"



traced from the English Reformation through the manifestations of the Oxford Movement:

"The loyal churchmanship to which he devoted himself was that of John Hobart, enriched by the beauty and the color of a ceremonial that never had interested his great predecessor" (p. 42).

His national leadership was evidenced in many ways, not least as president of the House of Deputies of the General Convention for five sessions—1886, 1889, 1892, 1895, and 1898.

He was a tower of strength in the founding of the first sisterhood in the American Episcopal Church, the Community of St. Mary, February 2, 1865, and was its first chaplain.

Missions for the foreign born in a city being almost engulfed by them; education, including day schools as well as Sunday schools; the beginnings of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine; the development of Church music (Appendix A), and many other movements came within the orbit of Trinity's influence through the leadership of its rector and vestry. Financial appeals—many, large, and unceasing—were a sizeable problem in themselves, and the parish's record in dealing with them is most creditable.

We shall end this review with a little essay in historiography, which some may think is anti-climactic, but with which opinion we shall disagree. No church in American Christianity has been more maligned and subjected to such bitter attacks as Trinity. Now, the only effective answer to such attacks is the truth, and historiography is the art of telling the truth in its historic setting. That art is neither easily, cheaply, nor speedily expressed.

On May 10, 1869, the vestry voted \$2,500.00 to be

"appropriated and paid to the Rector, Dr. Dix, to be applied by him in his discretion for the collection of materials for preparing and publishing a full history of this parish from the time of its foundation to the present day."

Here was a situation in which money for historical research was no great problem, yet it was twenty-nine years before Volume I appeared, and thirty-five years—more than a generation—before Volume IV was published.

And what about the present Volume V? In 1906, when Volume IV appeared, the duty of compiling further source material was entrusted to the Rev. Dr. Arthur Lowndes,

"who had assembled the data from which the earlier volumes were put together. Dr. Lowndes did, in fact, gather a great body of source material, which has proved of much value to those who succeeded him in editing the present work, but it was not completed or in shape for the printer when Dr. Lowndes died" (January 2, 1917, aged 64).

His successor was Professor Austin B. Keep, historian of the New York Society Library, who, because of ill health, had to give up the task in 1928. Canon B. Talbot Rogers was then appointed historiographer. He died September 21, 1934.

Some time (not stated) along the way, a committee was appointed,

"consisting of John A. Dix, Warden (son of Dr. Dix), and the vestrymen Charles W. Gerstenberg and John A. Gade. To this committee was later added the Reverend Dr. Leicester Crosby Lewis, vicar of Saint Luke's Chapel of Trinity Parish. John A. Dix was entirely responsible for the first draft of the manuscript, but he was called to the larger life on October 1, 1945. After his death, his labors were carried on and most fortunately concluded by Dr. Lewis, with the assistance of the two remaining members of the committee. By the death of Charles W. Gerstenberg, on September 15, 1948, the committee was robbed of his valuable collaboration. The galley proofs of this volume lay on Dr. Lewis' desk when he too joined the many devoted servants of Trinity whose career he had traced in so scholarly a manner. Leicester Crosby Lewis gave of his best to this book, at a time when his strength was fast failing. It remains as a triumphant proof of his last mental and literary ability . . ."

True, the volume was finally brought to a triumphant conclusion, but the stops and starts would have been too much for almost any organization except Trinity Parish.

The moral is plain: men should be encouraged to pursue historical research and writing at a younger age. In the nature of the case, certainly in ecclesiastical circles, historical research must be an avocation; that is, every ecclesiastical historian has to earn his livelihood in some other way, and he cannot be expected, in the normal course of events, to give up precious hours of leisure to research unless he has some encouragement that his researches can be made available to others. To give such encouragement is part of the function of both *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* and the Church Historical Society, and that is why both are entitled to the warm support of the whole Church.

The volume under review is appropriately dedicated: "To *FREDERIC SYDNEY FLEMING*, Twelfth Rector of Trinity Parish, Faithful Priest, Stalwart Churchman, Wise Administrator, Loyal Friend." We could add to that, "Warm Friend and Generous Supporter of Historical Research."

WALTER H. STOWE.

*Philip Mercer Rhinelander: Seventh Bishop of Pennsylvania, First Warden of the College of Preachers.* By Henry Bradford Washburn. Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York, 1950. Pp. 205. \$2.50.

Dean Washburn is remarkably equipped to record the life of Bishop Rhinelander, due to the close association of their lives and ministries as classmates, colleagues, friends. And the result of his labors is an intimate biographical appreciation of a man of unusual influence in the Church during recent years.

After a discussion of home and family life, Rhinelander's education (St. Paul's School, Harvard, Oxford) is reviewed with extraordinary penetration into the minds of the men who shaped his mind. It was an acute mind, too, which took full advantage of tutelage under the great teachers of the day. At Oxford, the process reached fruition in a mature point of view under Gore, Ottley, Illingworth and others, which well prepared Rhinelander for a ministry which was largely a teaching ministry.

A brief but vigorous parochial experience in Washington, D. C., led to a heart attack which for the rest of his life limited Rhinelander's activities—a limitation which deepened rather than strained his devotion, and which prompted him to a career as a theological professor. Both at the Berkeley Divinity School and at the Episcopal Theological School, his personal and pastoral influence almost outshone his considerable teaching ability and versatility. While widely sought for prominent positions in the Church, he was elected bishop coadjutor of Pennsylvania. Soon he was diocesan, and the episcopacy brought to the fore his endowments as a pastor, his penchant for human relations, and at the same time gave a certain freedom to his intellect. The episcopate was cut short by ill health, and it was as first warden of the College of Preachers that he spent almost the last years of his life. Here he exercised his widest and deepest influence, and he found in the College an institution to be guided and molded by all of his many and diverse abilities.

In each realm of activity, however, he had deep-seated disagreements with those among whom he worked; his strong conviction as a *Lux Mundi* churchman never found a completely congenial atmosphere in which to come to fullest bloom. Yet the undercurrent of restlessness sprang not from a petty spirit, but from one which could find full rest only in a larger life.

The story of Rhinelander's life is told here soberly, sometimes repetitively, appreciatively, on occasion frankly critically. Drawing upon a wealth of correspondence between the author and friends of Bishop Rhinelander, the book admirably portrays the impact of the man upon people. Occasional digressions go into much detail—such as that about the daily routine at the College of Preachers, or that about the operation of the foundation for college work at Harvard which is named for Rhinelander.

The writing is at all times lucid.

WILLIAM A. CLEBSCH.

*The Theological Seminary,  
Alexandria, Virginia.*

*A Pioneer in Northwest America, 1841-1858. The Memoirs of Gustaf Unonius.* Translated by Jonas Oscar Backlund and edited by Nils William Olsson. Volume I. (Published for the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society by the University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis), pp. xii, 419. \$6.00.

This is the first volume of the two-volume translation of a work of prime importance to the student of early Americana and of the early streams of immigration which peopled our Northwest. The Swedish Pioneer Historical Society has performed a valuable service in making these memoirs available in English. Both the translator and the editor have done an excellent job. Prof. George M. Stephenson contributes a brief but valuable introduction which gives the reader proper orientation. Both in binding, typography, and format the book is a credit to the University of Minnesota Press.

Unonius was one of the vanguard of the stream of Scandinavian immigrants who began coming to this country in the late 1840's. A graduate of the University of Uppsala, gifted with unusual descriptive powers, the publication of his early letters in the Stockholm *Aftonbladet* in 1842 did much to stimulate "America fever" among his fellow-countrymen. The *Memoirs* were published in 1861 and 1862, after their author had returned to Sweden in 1858 a disappointed man, and before the preservation of the Union had been determined by the Civil War. Unonius himself lived into the present century, dying October 14, 1902.

Of the volume under review, we may say that it gives the reader a vivid picture of the departure of the young Uppsala graduate from his native land, with his bride, her female companion, and three young men who accompanied them to the New World. The long, leisurely journey by sailing vessel across the Atlantic, the brief stop in New York City with its first impressions of America, the packet trip to Albany, the tedious canal boat trip *via* the Erie Canal to Buffalo, and the journey through the Great Lakes to Milwaukee are described in detail. We see the young immigrants pushing into the wilderness from Milwaukee, taking up a claim at Pine Lake (near Nashotah), and building a small, crude log cabin, which is finally ready for occupancy. The vicissitudes of pioneer life are clearly portrayed. Unonius achieved a rare degree of objectivity in describing the social life and institutions of the frontier, the characteristics of the American Indians, the flora and fauna of the New World, the agricultural implements and products of early-day Wisconsin, and much besides. In describing America and Americans, he avoids alike the irritating condescension of such contemporary writers as Dickens, Mrs. Trollope, and his compatriot, Fredrika Bremer, and the uncritical glorification of things American characteristic of many American writers of the period.

For the churchman, the significance of Gustaf Unonius lies in the fact that, as a result of his contacts with James Lloyd Breck and the other founders of Nashotah, he conformed to the Protestant Episcopal Church, graduated from Nashotah House in 1849, and founded St' Ansgarius' Church in Chicago, which he served until his return to

Sweden. Unonius did his best to persuade his fellow Swedish-Americans that the Episcopal Church and the Church of Sweden were cut from the same pattern, preserving continuity with the undivided Catholic Church by means of the ancient creeds, the historic episcopate, and the liturgy in the vernacular. In this volume we see what a tremendous influence young James Lloyd Breck exerted upon him, and read Unonius' interesting animadversions upon Prayer Book worship and upon the practice of infant baptism, which he thought the Episcopal Church was the most likely to preserve and keep from falling into disuse.

We eagerly await the appearance of Volume II, hoping that it will throw light upon his work as a priest and an apologist for the Church of his adoption, and upon his disillusionment as he failed to counteract the pietistic and sectarian tendencies among the Swedish immigrants which prevented most of them from finding their spiritual home in our Communion.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Parish,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

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*Early American Methodism, 1769-1844. Vol. I, Missionary Motivation and Expansion.* By Wade Crawford Barclay. (New York: The Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church, 1949.)

This volume, the first of a six-volume series, may be said to represent the "official" account of the beginnings of Methodism in this country, for the work is published by the Church itself and the author has held a variety of important positions in its official hierarchy. After a preliminary introduction concerning the Wesleyan heritage, the work is divided into five sections: Colonial Planting, 1769-84; Roots in American Soil, 1784-1819; Sowers Go Abroad to Sow, 1784-1819; Missionary Expansion in the United States, 1820-1844; and Missionary Organization and Program, 1820-44.

The author takes the "party line" attitude with regard to the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century, which modern research has shown must be modified. He has, for example, used Bishop Meade on the Virginia churchmen, but he gives little evidence of having knowledge of the work of Brydon or Chorley on this subject. Despite the statements of Wesley and Asbury to the contrary, which the author does not quote, he takes the general attitude that it was the intention of Wesley from the beginning to found a new church. This animosity toward the Episcopal Church is carried over into the very index! If you look up "Episcopal Church," the index tells you to see "Protestant Episcopal Church"; and when you turn to that place, nothing is to be found.

For a work which intends to be the beginning of a six-volume scholarly work, this reviewer finds the documentation disappointing. In the first place, it is grouped at the rear of the book, which in itself is disappointing and cumbersome; yet footnotes are used at the bottom

of the page when a qualifying statement is made. The reader would have found it more convenient to have all the notes at the bottom of the page, but more important is the practice of documenting fully well-known or unimportant facts, but failing to do so with regard to questionable sections, as for example pages xviii, xxiii, 8.

One gathers that the author is first a preacher, and then an historian, for there is an abundance of hyperbolic language such as, "Had he lived in the twentieth century he doubtless would have been zealous in devotion to and propagation of ecumenical Christianity." "Their life and influence had been weakened by formalism, a religiously barren intellectualism, and a legalistic moralism." This may be good homiletics, but it hardly applies historically to such men as Compton, Bray, Keith, Talbot, Blair, and a host of other eighteenth century divines. When this is coupled with a confusion between the SPG and the SPCK (p. 23), the historical value of the work becomes limited.

NELSON W. RIGHTMYER.

*The Divinity School,  
Philadelphia.*

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*A History of Christ Episcopal Church, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1839-1947.* By William Postell Witsell. Christ Church Vestry, Little Rock, 1949.

During the nineteenth century, the Church frequently said, in effect, to its domestic missionary bishops: "Here is your jurisdiction on the map. Part of it is settled and the rest soon will be. Go out there and start building the Kingdom. In time, if possible, a few priests will be sent to help you."

There is nothing really remarkable, therefore, in the fact that Leonidas Polk was named bishop of Arkansas when there was no organized parish in the state. During his first visitation, in 1839, he preached in the Presbyterian Church in Little Rock, and, finding a number of Episcopalian families in the town, brought about the organization of a parish, which took its name from Christ Church, Alexandria, Virginia, of which several of its founders had been communicants. Christ Church, Little Rock, is thus the oldest, as it is still one of the most important parishes in the diocese of Arkansas.

Dr. Witsell's task in relating its history has been rendered difficult by the loss of its early records through fire. His book is, consequently, weighted in favor of recent events, but, by exhaustive research and some use of a previous history by E. H. Cantrell, he has pieced together the fullest account of the earlier period that is possible under the circumstances, and has prefixed to it an interesting summary of state history.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*The Library,  
Church Historical Society,  
Philadelphia.*



*Saint John's Parish in Dover, New Jersey, 1849-1949.* By Caroline Kirkman Dayton Engle. 1949. 97 pp.

One hundred years after a small band of churchmen pledged themselves to lay the groundwork for the parish of St. John's, Dover, this excellent publication was issued by the wife of the rector, the Rev. Kline d'Aurandt Engle. The edition is limited to seventy-five copies, which is unfortunate in view of the splendid annotations and of the exhaustive work done by the author. Her efforts, in bringing into available form the record of a parish which started its great service in the middle of the last century and which has had a very interesting history, are to be commended. Mrs. Engle's example in collating this material, digesting it, and presenting it should be an inspiration to local students throughout the Church.

Some seven pages of introductory matter, covering the earliest Episcopal services in the vicinity of Dover and in the town itself, bring us to the first systematic ministrations under the Rev. Charles W. Rankin, rector of St. Peter's Church, Morristown. The efforts of the infant congregation, worshipping in the academy; the first visit of the bishop and his six confirmations; the acquisition of chancel furnishings; the first celebration of the Holy Communion (November 21, 1852); the incorporation of the parish; the establishment of a school—St. John's Seminary for Boys and Girls; the building of a church and rectory—all these items are instructive and suggestive. Notable is the fact that St. John's, Dover, felt from its early years a responsibility to the nearby country as well as a general social consciousness. We are sure that the author is justified in her statement that the parish "has always been a leader among the churches of this town—ever in the forefront—striving to serve to the best of her ability whatever the need of the moment."

The appendices, containing documents printed in full; ample notes pertaining to the church and academy, as well as the rectory and the parish house; data regarding the memorials; lists of missionaries-in-charge, rectors, and curates; the names of all the vestrymen, with the dates of their tenure of office; transcriptions from the parish register; comparative graphs and statistics; and biographical notes on the rectors, early vestrymen, and other benefactors—all are valuable as source material.

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON.

*St. John's Rectory,  
Mobile, Alabama.*



## AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES

*Edited by DuBOSE MURPHY, Associate Editor*

*The Maryland Historical Magazine*, Baltimore, June, 1950, contains an article (pp. 104-125) by William H. Wroten, Jr., on "The Protestant Episcopal Church in Dorchester County, 1692-1860." This is a well documented account of the struggling progress of the Church during the colonial period and under the republic. The Revolution disturbed the Church, for many of the clergy were Tories who left their cures rather than violate their oath to the crown. Thus weakened by the shortage of ministers, the Church suffered further from the defection of many communicants to Methodism in the last decade of the eighteenth century. But during the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a gradual revival and renewal of strength, thanks to the devoted ministry of the Rev. James Kemp and the Rev. Theodore Barber.

*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June, 1950, has an article (pp. 91-110) by Charles A. Johnson, on "The Frontier Camp Meeting: Contemporary and Historical Appraisals, 1805-1840." Here is a most interesting study of an institution which played a large and valuable part in the development of the frontier. The Presbyterians introduced the camp meeting, but later discarded it and repudiated it. Alexander Campbell condemned it, chiefly because he considered it a stronghold of denominationalism. And it was ridiculed by various writers "who concentrated on the spectacular and the ludicrous in backwoods religion." To a great extent it was the Methodist Church which took over the camp meeting and developed it into an institution under some degree of control and order. Asbury, in particular, worked hard to secure a measure of discipline and to foster the devotional and worshipping spirit. Although there were eccentrics who did not always stay within the bounds of reverence and decency, yet there were many preachers who found experience and training under the guidance of Asbury and other leaders. As the camp meeting gradually worked out its institutional program, it became a four day session (from Friday evening through Monday morning), with a balanced program of instruction, music, and evangelical preaching. People who lived on isolated farms and plantations found an opportunity for social contacts and fellowship, and received a measure of religious education, which were afforded by no other agency under the conditions of frontier life.

*The Georgia Review*, Fall, 1950, publishes an article (pp. 233-247) by the Rev. Edgar Legare Pennington, S.T.D., on "Bishop Stephen Elliott and the Confederate Episcopal Church." With the sound historical scholarship and delightful literary style that we always find in his work, the historiographer of our Church and associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* presents a study of a man who was a leader in the development of the State of Georgia. In the twenty-five years of his episcopate (1841-1866), Bishop Elliott established

many churches, founded schools, and exerted a wide influence in public affairs.

The Civil War brought many problems and trials to the Church in the Confederacy (see HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, December, 1948). Bishop Elliott took a prominent part in the organization of the Church in the Confederate States, becoming its presiding bishop by seniority of consecration. He did his best to maintain the fabric of his diocese which suffered much from the hardships of war and invasion. He had been especially interested in the Church's work among the Negroes and felt keen sorrow at the disastrous effect of war upon this work.

Bishop Elliott was the trusted friend and adviser of such leaders as Polk, Joseph E. Johnston and Bragg. He often visited army and corps headquarters and confirmed many high ranking officers as well as enlisted men. At the close of hostilities, the bishop was a strong influence for patience and calm, both in church and in state. While he did not take such an active part as did Bishops Atkinson and Lay, yet he contributed much to the reconciliation between North and South, and prepared the way for the future growth of the Church in Georgia.

*The William and Mary Quarterly*, October, 1950, includes a study of "The Life and Mind of Jonathan Mayhew" (pp. 531-544) by Clinton Rossiter. According to John Adams, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew was one of five men most largely responsible for the "awakening and revival of American principles and feelings." As pastor of the West Church in Boston, Mayhew's pulpit "was the storm-center of Boston theology and . . . the religious outpost of colonial resistance to British political and ecclesiastical encroachment. The last of the great colonial preachers, he was at the same time the rough-voiced herald of a new day for religious and political liberty." Himself such an ardent "independent" that he was "never invited to join the Boston Association of Congregational ministers," he took the lead in a vehement struggle against every attempt to bring an Anglican bishop to Boston. The irony of history appeared a century later when his grandson and namesake, Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, became provisional bishop of New York in 1852.

*Biography of Bishop Joseph Cruikshank Talbot (1816-1883)*, Missionary Bishop of the North-West, 1860-1865, and later Bishop of Indiana. Anyone who knows about any letters or other source materials concerning the subject is asked to communicate with Dr. Dorothy Woodward, associate professor of history, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M., at that address.—*Editor's note.*

*Notice:* The vestry of St. Michael's Parish, Charleston, South Carolina, are preparing a historical volume to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the church. Any persons having unusual information are requested to write Mr. George W. Williams, care of the address above.—*Editor's note.*

## II.

## English and General Church History

*British Humanitarianism: Essays Honoring Frank J. Klingberg.* By his former doctoral students at the University of California, Los Angeles. Edited by Samuel Clyde McCulloch. Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1950. Pp. x, 254; frontispiece. \$4.00.

This well-printed volume contains ten essays, dedicated to "a sympathetic and stimulating teacher, a great scholar, and a fine administrator,"—Dr. Klingberg, who is retiring after having served the University of California at Los Angeles for a third of a century. During that time he deeply impressed his personality and high idealism upon hundreds of advanced students, who have gone forth into the world the wiser and the better for his influence. This collection of thoughtful and discriminating essays, devoted to the field which represents a distinguished professor's major interest, attests the gratitude, admiration, and esteem in which the master was held. Dr. Samuel Clyde McCulloch, of Rutgers University, has ably edited the collection, supplying a brief biographical sketch of the professor and a survey of his life-work, furnishing a few notes regarding each essay and its author, and adding a select list of Dr. Klingberg's publications as an appendix. In his introduction, Dr. McCulloch notes that "although the essays are widely dispersed through the field of British humanitarianism, there are many vistas yet unexplored"; nevertheless "Professor Klingberg's pioneer work in this field has marked trails and set signposts for the world of scholarship."

Dr. Francis Lister Hawks and Dr. William Stevens Perry (afterwards bishop of Iowa) published a considerable number of letters from the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in the last century; but somehow secular historians gave little heed to the source material available in the volumes which were published as a result of their industry. When this reviewer began to study the S. P. G. transcripts in the Library of Congress, more than twenty years ago, he recognized in the missionaries' reports and letters a veritable mine of first-hand information, bearing not only on the religious and cultural life of colonial America but also on certain political, legal, and social trends. He was surprised that those letters, emanating from some of the most intelligent and well-educated residents of the colonies, had been apparently overlooked or ignored by present-day historians. It was with genuine satisfaction that he learned of Dr. Klingberg's splendid researches and of the increasing use of the S. P. G. sources, largely due to the great Californian scholar's knowledge and enterprise and his zeal in directing his students to such an abundant fountain of refreshment. The historian of the future will no longer be able to disregard the notes and observations of the eighteenth century Anglican missionaries.

Dr. J. Harry Bennett, Jr., of the University of Texas, is the author of the first essay, which is entitled "The Society for the Propagation

of the Gospel's Plantations and the Emancipation Crisis." He reviews the slavery problem as it confronted the Society in the Codrington sugar plantations of Barbados. There the Society was the owner and landlord; it had striven to convert the slaves with varying success, but it had not concerned itself radically with the ethics of the institution. There was the Society's opportunity to prove that Christianity would not subvert a slave order; that Negroes could be brought to Christianity by their masters, and that plantations operated by Christian masters could be both profitable and orderly. After many years, it was found that the experiment was ineffectual. "Some Negroes were baptized, but it could not be denied that they were Christians in name only." The Society exceeded other West Indian proprietors in securing benefits to its slaves, but it remained closely identified with the colonial interest. A good deal of adverse criticism resulted. The Society instituted a program for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, but it was destined to failure. At last, in 1833, the allotment system was devised; thereby a cottage and a plot of land were given to each Negro family, and the slaves were permitted to provide for their own subsistence as tenants. This system proved immediately successful; and when all slaves were freed by the Act of Parliament of August 1, 1834, it was found that the allotment system was easily adapted to the conditions of emancipation. The Society, however, had made its greatest contribution over a century earlier, when "it had been among the first to affirm that the slave was the spiritual equal of his master."

The second essay, "Convicts, Colonists, and Progress in Australia, 1800-1850," was written by Dr. Charles S. Blackton, of Colgate University. From the first days of the nineteenth century, there was a decided sentiment in opposition to the transportation of British convicts; and this humanitarian attitude was reflected in efforts to "soften or abolish the earthly hell in which some British convicts dwelt." The Australian settler found arid lands, defeating distances and loneliness; at the same time he realized his chance for more personal liberty, wealth, and self-expression than the common man in the British Isles aspired to until after 1867. He became engrossed in the effort, first, to survive, and then to succeed; and he was too much occupied with his own concerns to bother much about the convicts and their sad lot. While philanthropists "back home" voiced their feelings regarding the institution, the free colonists were slow in giving vent to any pious revulsion of feeling. The relationship between the two societies—the free and the bond—was not a happy one; and the issue was bound to emerge. Mutiny and violence broke out. By gradual steps, the convict system came to an end, although selfishness continued to raise its ugly head. The problem was at length solved, mainly on the basis of expediency and with little attention to the theories of humanitarians, whenever the precepts of the reformers clashed with the practical objectives.

"The S. P. G. and the Foreign Settler in the American Colonies" is the subject of the next essay. Dr. William A. Bultmann, of Arkansas State Teacher College, notes that the Society assisted the non-English residents of the American colonies as proper objects of its charity.

Foreign groups, which had lost contact with their European churches, or which were unable to support parish organizations in their communities, received material aid from the Society, while offering little return "other than the wholehearted use of the benefits extended." Protestant background and beliefs were expected; and the S. P. G. generally asked conformity to the Church of England. No effort, however, was made to change the language of the foreigner. Schoolmasters were paid, Bibles and tracts were distributed, and missionary libraries were presented by the munificent Society, as far as the resources permitted. Examples cited by Doctor Bultmann include Welsh settlers in Pennsylvania, French Huguenots in New York and South Carolina, Palatine colonists, Germans, Swedes, and others. Thus the S. P. G. program attempted to provide for the foreign settlers' religious needs, while making no great effort to force them into a close Anglican mold.

Dr. John Duffy, of the Northwestern State College, Louisiana, contributed the fourth essay—"Early Factory Legislation: A Neglected Aspect of British Humanitarianism." "The years of transition which turned England into an industrial nation brought degradation to large segments of the population," says the author; and "the humanitarian movement was a spontaneous reaction by kindly individuals to the pressing social problems." The conditions which characterized the early factories were surely appalling; and they have been often related. Not so well known, however, is the background leading up to the first effective factory law (1833), which was the product of the same humanitarian movement, which, in turn, brought many reforms to nineteenth century England, and which had already become articulate in several parliamentary measures. To face the prevalent antipathy for factory regulation, considerable courage was required. Those who fought for factory reform represented varied political and economic groups—Tories, Whigs, Radicals, and Independents, country squires, great landed aristocrats, merchants, lawyers, factory-owners, and intellectuals, who felt that conditions must be improved regardless of the cost. Although the majority of factory-owners were "almost hysterical in their denunciation of government regulation," the initiative for the first factory acts came from within their ranks. Sir Robert Peel, Robert Owen, and the lesser known John Fielden and John Wood, were industrialists, who devoted their time, effort, and means in behalf of the industrial workers. It is significant, moreover, that "the first steps towards alleviating factory conditions were taken before the development of effective unions and at a time when the working class was relatively inarticulate."

Dr. Howard E. Kimball, in his essay, "The Anglican Church in British North America: Ecclesiastical Government before 1688," describes the government of the Church in the colonies during a period of considerable struggle. By 1689, there were in the mother country no fewer than twenty-two churchmen to every dissenter; but in the colonies of continental America, there were from thirty to forty dissenters to every churchman. North of Maryland, only one colonist in fifty-five attended the Church of England; to the south, in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, lay the stronghold of the Anglicans,

but among a population of 75,000, there were not more than thirty Anglican clergymen. The contention between the Church and Dissent largely explains the tardy development of an ecclesiastical government of the empire. The jurisdiction of the bishop of London over the ecclesiastical affairs of the colonies was doubtless a gradual development, based upon the authority of a tradition; but Henry Compton was able from 1676 to establish his responsibility for the spiritual direction of the Church in America. Bishop Compton took his position seriously, and worked through the colonial governors and through commissaries. In the meantime, colonial legislation was having its effect in imparting to the Church a more definite status.

The sixth article, "Thomas Bradbury Chandler: Anglican Humanitarian in Colonial New Jersey," was written by Dr. Samuel Clyde McCulloch, the editor of the volume. A man of remarkable ability and exalted reputation, Chandler has never been the subject of a biography of any proportions and he has been pretty generally disregarded by historians; nevertheless, he wielded tremendous influence as a pamphleteer and as a champion of an American episcopate, and did most effective work as an S. P. G. missionary. Painfully aware of the progress and spread of dissent, he recognized the lack of a bishop in the colonies as the major handicap from which the Church of England suffered. By ability, industry, and initiative, he was conceded a unique prestige by the clergymen of his own and of adjacent provinces; and he found himself engaged in organizing the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen and in furthering the missions to the frontier communities of New Jersey. In his efforts to obtain a colonial episcopate, he became involved in a notable controversy, in which his own writings were marked by unusual force and power. A staunch and outspoken loyalist, he was subjected to violent opposition, and in 1775 felt obliged to find shelter in England. Returning to America in 1785, he was unable, because of failing health, to lend much active support to the reorganization of the Anglican Church into the Protestant Episcopal Church, and he was constrained to decline the proffer of the bishopric of Nova Scotia. He lived, however, to see at least one of his fondest dreams realized—a native American and purely ecclesiastical episcopate. One of the most faithful servants of the S. P. G., he was accorded much praise and commendation by the Society in his lifetime; and his descendants have been prominent in the Church.

Dr. Maud O'Neil, of the College of Medical Evangelists, writes of "Matthew Graves: Anglican Missionary to the Puritans." Graves arrived in New London, Connecticut, in 1748, as a missionary of the S. P. G. He was coldly received by his parishioners, and encountered opposition on the part of one Jonathan Colton, the lay reader of the Hebron congregation, who did not choose to be supplanted. His relations with the dissenting population were very disagreeable, and he lacked the friendly encouragement which he might well have expected from certain clergymen of his own Church. As if to escape the harshness of his own parishioners, Graves early extended his evangelism to the dissenters, and he succeeded in attracting many puritans to hear him in the outlying districts. As a result of his efforts, certain notable



converts were made. Graves' most successful ministrations, however, were to the Indians, for whom he was an earnest advocate. The Revolutionary War involved him in difficulties; the doors of his church were locked and not opened until after hostilities ceased. In the meantime, the earnest, uncompromising missionary was reduced to extreme poverty. Removing to New York, he died in April, 1780, while officiating in his pulpit.

The eighth article, "James Ramsay, Essayist: Aggressive Humanitarian," is from the pen of Dr. John A. Schutz, of the California Institute of Technology. Ramsay's *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies*, published in 1784, electrified English opinion on slavery and aroused discussion in nearly every part of the empire. The author dramatized the evils of slavery as no other author before him, drawing on his own observations and experiences. His manner of attacking the institution set the pattern of later attacks, and did much to quicken the temper of such reformers as Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce, and Granville Sharp. Ramsay (1733-1789) was a clergyman of the Church of England, and had served on St. Christopher's Island, West Indies, where he had made persistent attempts to Christianize the Negro. He afterwards accepted the vicarate of Teston in Kent, and there won the support of Sir Charles and Lady Middleton in his fight against slavery. Ramsay's selection of evidence was very effective in arousing the people to a realization of the abuses which prevailed in the British colonies, although the sugar interests did their utmost to discredit the writer's sense and reliability.

Dr. Robert Worthington Smith, of the University of Oregon, is the author of the ninth article, "The Attempt of British Humanitarianism to Modify Chattel Slavery." The Emancipation Act of 1833 was preceded by a sustained effort to ameliorate the conditions of chattel slavery in the British Empire, extending over half a century. Both Quakers and Methodists opposed slavery soon after the middle of the eighteenth century; and from 1780 on, there were articles attacking the slave-trade in various publications. Reforms were initiated in Jamaica, and other West Indian islands followed the example. The anti-slavery men, however, were not satisfied with minor improvements; while their first goal was to make the slave a true object of civil government, entitled to the protection of the law, their ultimate objective was complete emancipation. Doctor Smith reviews the activities of the English humanitarians in an interesting way, and concludes that "if the suggestions of the humanitarians could have been wholeheartedly adopted before the end of the eighteenth century, the transition from slavery to freedom in the British Empire might have been much more easy."

The last essay is by Dr. Phyllis Jane Wetherell, of the Arkansas State Teachers College; and the subject is "Education and the Children's Hymn in Eighteenth Century England." The child's hymn found an active place and rendered invaluable service in the projects undertaken in behalf of the poor children, who grew up in the misery and squalor which characterized the industrial chaos of the country. The primary function of the hymn was to re-introduce the English



laity to a sense of personal participation in their religion; the second function was to release a great number of people from traditional authority; the third was to make religion not only more effective but also more enjoyable; and the fourth function was to promote education. Of the countless hymn-writers of the century, Doctor Isaac Watts was preeminent. That good, broad-minded man strove to promote singing among the people, and with much success. The hymns emphasized a high standard of behavior and conduct, a sense of reverence, and a certain social responsibility. Philip Doddridge, John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield found the hymns useful means of inculcating sacred truths and Christian ethics.

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*The English Reformation to 1558.* By T. M. Parker. Pp. viii, 200. Oxford University Press, 1950. 5s.

[From *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I (1950)  
pp. 243-244.]

This book is a worthy contribution to the Home University Library. It succeeds in being what a short book of 200 pages ought to be: on the one side it does not try to be the celebrated "miracle of compression" where too many facts tumble over too many theories; on the other side it avoids the snare of saying the obvious. It is a coherent and perspicuous essay, intelligible to the able school-boy and yet containing material worthy of the consideration of the scholar.

In writing such a book it is probably better to omit some things than to try to include too much. The author has taken the bold course of omitting almost entirely a series of events important for the future development of English religion. The religious influences from the Continent are mentioned, but only mentioned. There is no treatment, however brief, of the effect of *The Babylonish Captivity* or of Oecolampadius: the index does not include the names of Frith, despite his significance as the first propagator of the Swiss doctrines, nor Coverdale nor Cox. There is a bare allusion to Gardiner's treatise on obedience, and hardly more about Tyndale's literary work; John Knox receives a single passing reference. The reader will therefore not find here the history of the movement of ideas or of the spread of Protestant theology or of the conservative reply. What he will find is a narrative of the political and constitutional struggle: and very well is the story told. The accounts of Wolsey and of the suppression of the monasteries are particularly well-balanced.

In a short book the author is bound to offer some opinions which might not at once command the assent of everyone. I take up one point. He writes (p. 166):

"Recent research has shown (the exodus of some of the more prominent Protestants under Mary) to have been organized emigration, designed to prepare for more favourable times, rather than a panic flight. It was directed by Cecil and others destined to be key men under Elizabeth, and served its purpose, in that it provided a nucleus of trained persons to inaugurate the reaction after 1558."

This notion of an organized emigration is dependent upon an acceptance of the introductory thesis of Miss C. N. Garrett's book, *The Marian Exiles*, published in 1938. This book was of great value in making available in English the resources of Continental archives which related to the exiles. But the thesis which introduced it was much more questionable. No doubt all refugees, when they run from their mother country, are in hopes that a political revolution will some day allow them to return; and when they are in exile, they often plan for a return. But to call this, as Miss Garrett did, "not a flight, but a migration, and, as such, one of the most astute manoeuvres that has ever carried a defeated political party to ultimate power," is hardly even plausible. Many of them left before persecution had begun; but the government had sufficiently declared its intentions. Miss Garrett likewise held that the undiplomatic declarations of Protestantism at the beginning of Mary's reign were not the products of conscientious but unwise men with a martyr-mentality; John Rogers' denunciation of "pestilent popery" on 6 August, 1553, and the declaration of Cranmer on the Mass in September, she believed to be "shrewd tactics" which forced the government to the attack and so secured "cover for their protected withdrawal and gave to that withdrawal its show of justification." This was playing with the evidence: and there has as yet been no adequate proof of any kind produced for her guess, followed more definitely by the book under review, that Cecil was the "director" of a clever emigration. Renard's information about Gardiner's device for removing Protestants is itself almost enough to confute the theory of a plan: "When he hears of any preacher or leader of the sect, he summons him to appear at his house, and the preacher, fearing he may be put in the Tower, does not appear, but on the contrary absents himself."

No history of the English Reformation can end in the year 1558. The Epilogue here given was bound to be too brief to satisfy: and it is good news that another volume in the series is projected. This first volume has set a high standard.

OWEN CHADWICK.

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*Episcopacy and Royal Supremacy in the Church of England in the XVI Century.* By E. T. Davies. New York, William Salloch, 1950. \$2.00.

The director of religious education in the diocese of Monmouth here presents us with a book of real importance for the student of the English Reformation. It is not a history of the ecclesiastical and political events of the Reformation: that has been well done already. It is a study of the theology of the episcopacy as presented in the official formularies and in the writings of the leading Anglican divines of the sixteenth century.

There is an important presupposition made by Mr. Davies at the beginning of his book, and expressed in the words of the Unitarian historian, Beard. It is the recognition of the continuity of the English Church through its period of Reformation.

"There is no point," says Beard, "at which it can be said that here the old church ends, here the new begins. The retention of the episcopate by the English reformers at once helped to preserve this continuity and marked it in the distinctest way . . . It is an obvious historical fact that Parker was the successor of Augustine, just as clearly as Lanfranc and Becket. Warham, Cranmer, Pole, Parker—there is no break in the line, though the first and third are claimed as catholic and the second and fourth as protestant . . . The succession, from the spiritual point of view, was most carefully provided for when Parker was consecrated."<sup>1</sup>

When the ties with Rome were severed, there was little doubt about the acceptance of the historic episcopacy. The two official works on doctrine issued during the reign of Henry VIII, the *Bishop's Book* and the *King's Book*, affirm the apostolic character of the episcopacy. Fortunately, in the reign of Edward VI this same view is expressed in the Preface to the Ordinal and in the Ordinal itself. Despite some wavering of individual opinion among the theologians, particularly among the returned Marian exiles, the Elizabethan theology tended more and more to conform to the Ordinal and its Preface. Through controversy and heart-searching it became clear that the English Church differed from the Continental Protestants in its acceptance of the three-fold ministry as affirmed in the Prayer Book.

After indicating the official affirmation of the episcopacy in the sixteenth century, our author asserts the close connection between the doctrine of the episcopacy and the theological conception of the royal supremacy. Anglicans are prone to be apologetic for the royal influence in the Reformation settlement. Mr. Davies quite correctly directs our attention to the fact that in this matter it is the Presbyterians who have just cause for complaint, rather than the Episco-

<sup>1</sup>Davies, p. 2, quoting Beard, *The Reformation*, p. 311

paliens. It was Queen Elizabeth who restrained the aggressive Puritans and thus saved both the Episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer.

Even though the queen undertook no essentially sacerdotal functions, yet the new powers exercised by her over the Church were thought to be exercised by divine right, and so helped to dissolve the old papal ties. In the end this meant the emancipation of the episcopacy of the English Church from the papal centralization that was absorbing the powers which at an earlier day had belonged to the bishops. By rare good fortune the doctrine of the divine right of kings later passed into the limbo of forgotten theology. Then the Anglican made his bishop what the apostolic bishop had been in fact, the focus and the center of the ministry of the Church. Rightly, therefore, the Anglican is called an Episcopalian.

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*Priscilla Lydia Sellon, the Restorer after Three Centuries of the Religious Life in the English Church.* By Thomas Jay Williams (London. S. P. C. K. 1950). Pp. xxiv, 311. 20/-.

It was no less a person than Dr. Pusey who acclaimed Miss Sellon in the words of the sub-title of this biography. Dr. Pusey was not only the life-long counsellor of Miss Sellon, but also the first warden of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity which she founded.

It is a delight to find a biography of this sort written by an American priest. Fr. Williams is rector of the Church of the Holy Comforter, Poughkeepsie, New York, and American secretary of the Companions of the Love of Jesus, an association for intercessory prayer founded by Dr. Pusey and Mother Lydia. \*He has had access to many hitherto unpublished documents and oral traditions. He has produced a work which will be recognized as definitive by all who are interested in the story of the revival of the religious life. It is more than the biography of a very brave and consecrated woman. It is the chronicle of an important by-product of the Oxford Movement, which has profoundly affected the life of the Anglican Communion.

Fr. E. Edmund Seyzinger, C.R., the present warden of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity (second in succession from Dr. Pusey), writes a very useful preface, which puts the revival of the religious life for women a century ago in its historical perspective against the background of the dissolution of the religious houses under Henry VIII (which Archbishop Bramhall deplored in the 17th century) and the tentative efforts toward the revival of community life prior to the time of the Tractarians.

\*The reader is referred to Fr. Williams' article, "The Beginnings of Anglican Sisterhoods," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVI (1947), pp. 350-372.—*Editor's note.*

Miss Sellon was born in 1821, the daughter of a naval officer, from whom she inherited her devotion to the Church as well as the love of regimentation and discipline and the rigid insistence on obedience which marked her life work. Her father came gallantly to her defense on at least one occasion when his daughter was the object of calumnious attack.

Fr. Williams writes in detail of the profession of Miss Marian Rebecca Hughes to the religious life as early as 1841, and of the visit of Miss Sellon in 1847 or 1848 to the sisterhood established by the Rev. William Dodsworth in connection with Christ Church, Albany St. This London sisterhood, which antedated Miss Sellon's profession, failed less because of the rigor of its rule than because it lacked the leadership which Miss Sellon was able to give, first of all to the Devonport Sisters of Mercy from 1848 to 1856, and from 1856 to 1876 to the consolidated Society of the Most Holy Trinity, which combined the Devonport and London sisterhoods. Mother Lydia's leadership of these sisterhoods during these twenty-eight years was indeed a triumph of mind and spirit over matter. During practically all of this time she was an invalid oft confined to her bed, yet ordering the activities of the societies with an indomitable, not to say masculine vigor.

In the Three Towns (Devonport, Stoke, and Plymouth) existed such a condition of spiritual destitution, ignorance, and immorality that Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter made on January 1, 1848, an appeal to "the Christian charity of England." Miss Sellon courageously answered this appeal by forming the Church of England Sisterhood of Mercy, which in October, 1848, opened a home for the orphan daughters of British sailors and soldiers. The small group of well-born women whom she attracted into the sisterhood bound themselves under a rule adapted from several sources, some entirely original. Within a short time the sisters were energetically running their orphanage, visiting the poor on errands of mercy, running a kindergarten, giving instruction to 500 children in three schools, conducting a night school or "college" for sailor boys, and preparing confirmation classes, while maintaining an exacting devotional rule. The regenerative effects of this tremendous activity in the slums of Devonport were soon apparent, and won the adherence and support of Dr. Pusey. At the same time the sisters aroused the most incredible opposition and persecution from Protestant-minded clergy and laity and disaffected members of the Society—a persecution that continued with all the rancor of *odium theologicum* for many years, and even caused the partial estrangement of Bishop Phillpotts. The outbreak of a cholera epidemic in 1849 brought the sisters into the field of nursing, where they did valiant service and anticipated some of the reforms in that profession later put into effect by Miss Nightingale.

The work expanded in spite of opposition without and defections within. New projects were undertaken, new institutions established. Some of the most interesting chapters of the book are those which describe in vivid detail, based upon contemporary documents, the adventures and misadventures of the eight "Sellonite" sisters who accompanied Miss Nightingale to the hospitals at Scutari and in the

Crimea from 1854 to 1856. In 1866 the sisters were associated with other Anglican sisterhoods in nursing the victims of a cholera epidemic in the East End of London. The following year Mother Lydia responded to an appeal from Bishop Staley and Queen Emma and journeyed to distant Hawaii, where the Rev. Mother and her associates were received with royal honors, the queen herself became an associate of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity and a Companion of the Love of Jesus, and the sisters established St. Andrew's Priory School, Honolulu, which they continued to operate until the American Church took over the Hawaiian Mission in 1902. Two of the sisters, indeed, remained in the Islands until their deaths in 1921 and 1930—long enough to have seen the Priory School taken over by the American Community of the Transfiguration.

Mother Lydia returned to England after seeing the Hawaiian project launched, and spent the last nine years of her life supervising the varied activities of the Society. The secession of one of her earliest and most trusted associates to the Roman obedience in 1876 was a blow which she did not long survive. Her death on November 20, 1876, in her fifty-seventh year (her twenty-ninth in the religious life) called forth generous tributes to her memory in the secular, as well as the Church, press—and rekindled the fires of controversy. The subsequent history of the society which she founded is summarized in the closing chapters of this vividly written, well documented, and interestingly illustrated work.

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*Newman at Oxford: His Religious Development.* By R. D. Middleton, M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1950). Pp. xi, 284. \$5.00.

Of making many books about John Henry Newman there is no end; but much study of them is not a weariness to the flesh, because of the unending fascination of the man himself. Therefore we welcome this beautifully printed and interestingly illustrated addition to the ever increasing library of Newman literature. It is written by one whose previous contributions to the study of this great religious leader (in the symposium, *Newman Centenary Essays*, and in his *Newman and Bloxam, an Oxford Friendship*, both previously reviewed in these pages) have earned for their author deserved recognition as probably our chief living authority on the Anglican phase of Newman's career.

The primary authority for the Anglican half of Newman's life is, of course, his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, just as Wilfrid Ward's two-volume *Life of Cardinal Newman* is definitive for the Roman half of his career. Mr. Middleton, in tracing Newman's religious development during his Oxford days, makes skilful use of Newman's published writings, and of other works that throw light upon the subject, and draws upon hitherto unpublished materials. The result is a most readable and interesting study of "the great man who once was ours,



who belongs to the Church of all time, and whose life and work are still with us an inspiration."

Mr. Middleton attributes Newman's early Calvinism less to the influence of his mother than to that of the Rev. Walter Mayers, a classical master in the private school which Newman attended at Ealing. Newman's Calvinism was always of the milder variety, though (as Wilfrid Ward said) it imparted "a solitariness of spirit and a certain austerity to his nature which it never lost."

Our author goes on to show how Newman's Calvinism was modified by his reading and associations as an undergraduate at Trinity College, Oxford, and was finally discarded when, after his election as a fellow of Oriel, he came under the influence of Edward Hawkins, later provost of Oriel, from whom he learned the doctrine of baptismal regeneration and the importance of tradition. From the Rev. William James, another fellow of Oriel, he acquired the doctrine of apostolical succession. Blanco White, a former Spanish Roman Catholic priest who drifted into skepticism, left a liberal mark on Newman's mind. Whately, the future archbishop of Dublin, who gave Newman his first clear conception of the Church and its authority, was also a liberalizing influence. But the real formative influence in the shaping of Newman's mind and religious development at this period was the friendships he formed with Keble and Pusey and Hurrell Froude. Mr. Middleton attaches significance also to a casual dinner meeting of Newman with Bishop Hobart of New York in 1824.

Our author quotes an interesting dictum which reflects Newman's reaction to the Hadleigh Conference summoned by Hugh James Rose of Cambridge to crystallize Church opposition to the suppression of ten Irish bishoprics by Parliament. Said Newman, "Living movements do not come of committees, nor are great ideas worked out through the post, even though it had been the penny post." The *Tracts for the Times* was the master stroke needed for the Church revival, and Newman was the master mind behind the *Tracts*. The appeal to antiquity and the development of the idea of the Anglican Via Media through Newman's contributions to the *Tracts*, and through his incomparable sermons preached from the pulpit of St. Mary's and his other works of this period, are treated in two interesting chapters which reveal also the beginnings of the opposition to the movement and Newman's reactions thereto. Newman was "not the man to plough a lonely furrow." He suffered greatly "through extreme sensitiveness and an unfortunate desire for outward manifestations of regard and approval from his ecclesiastical superiors."

The chapter entitled "The Anglican Port" shows Newman at the height of his development and influence as an exponent of Anglo-Catholicism in the year 1838. And what a magnificent exponent he was! One wonders how anybody who could expound so admirably the *nuances* of eucharistic teaching in our Lord's discourse at Capernaum (St. John vi) could ever later have embraced the doctrine of transubstantiation. The explanation, of course, is to be found in the unsettlement which arose after Newman had read Dr. Wiseman's article on "The Anglican Claim," comparing the Anglicans to the Donatists and quoting St. Augustine's "Securus judicat orbis terrarum." The



doubts thus raised as to the authority of the Church were intensified by the hostile reception of Newman's *Tract XC* on the Thirty-nine Articles, and by the series of blows which befell the Tractarian cause at Oxford. We see Newman retiring to Livermore; we hear his haunting, moving sermon on "The Parting of Friends"—and Newman is on his deathbed so far as the Anglican Church is concerned.

Our author sums up Newman's subsequent career:

"Despite its lack of appreciation, save for the tardy presentation of a Cardinal's hat, which Manning did his best to prevent, Newman did a great work for the Roman Church. His deep spirituality was felt and welcomed by many, his personal influence was a powerful factor in the lives of those who came into contact with him, while his task as a philosopher, a religious writer, and teacher helped to reconcile the growing intellectual element of the Roman Catholic laity in England to the doctrines of their Church, too often clouded by a spirit of obscurantism. Is not that something to be thankful for? If it had to be that we must lose him, we may be generous enough to be glad that another part of the Catholic Church has benefited, as the Roman Church has undoubtedly benefited, by his life and teaching."

In this generous conclusion we fully concur.

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*A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century: Volume III. The Triumph of Reform, 1830-1841.* Elie Halévy. Translated from the French by E. I. Watkin. (New York, Peter Smith, 1950), \$6.00.

From 1830 to 1841, England was beset by the need for radical reforms and by revolutionary fervor. The same was true with France. England remained, however, an essentially conservative country, and France continued in her more violent fashion in the path of revolution. For Elie Halévy in his *Triumph of Reform, 1830-1841: A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, III (New York, 1950) this is an arresting difference. In a sense, the major concern of the study of these years is to analyse why England was able to stay on the conservative path, while on the continent revolution was the outstanding factor.

Halévy makes almost a truism out of his belief that England, which he sees as a nation inherently and irrevocably bound to an orderly path of development, did not face the danger of revolution, or actual conversion to the radical faith. If he were not such a careful and brilliant scholar, this bias, and with him it is a bias, might inter-

fere with the soundness of the work itself. At times it appears that Halévy feels that a benevolent despot was looking down on England, telling the people of the island kingdom to keep to the narrow and happy path of their past. Halévy, pursuing an almost mystical tack, sees the English spirit impregnated with the love of the traditional and the conservative. Here rests the key to one great difference in French and English history. Even with this attitude so vividly stressed, there is no reason to doubt the thoroughness of the work, nor the soundness with which the author handles his materials.

When directing his attention to the often repeated tales of reform legislation, Palmerston's foreign policy, and the roles of the young queen and her consort, Prince Albert, Halévy writes merely good, competent history, but, when he leaves the commonplace, he soars into the realm of more valuable and illuminating material. For example, his chapter on the growth of centralized administrative control has a quiet irony, when it is viewed in the light of present-day development, and it is also a subject which is too often passed aside in discussions of the why of the Victorian reluctance to advocate certain reforms, which in themselves meant more taxes and the growth of the hated bureaucracy, the bugbears of all nineteenth century liberal reformers.

There is then an incisive commentary on Sir Robert Peel, the far too often enigmatic leader of the then newly conceived "Conservative Party." It this were a novel, Peel would be the hero. It is not a novel, but, nevertheless, for Halévy Peel is the absorbing material which soaks in all the divergent tendencies of the age to best represent it.

If England, after the crisis from which she had just emerged, were to regain her balance, and find it in a liberty expressed by economic rather than political formulas, formulas wholly British and utterly un-French, the creation of Adam Smith and Ricardo, they preferred to believe that it would be Peel, not Lord John (Russell), who would have the honour of leading his country into the new era of plenty and social peace.<sup>1</sup>

It was Peel, the reformer and the Tory, who sought to combine all the dissident elements against what he considered to be the debasement of the traditional English practice or habit. He believed, as it was stated in the Tamworth Manifesto, that in a society of continuous change the institutions of state, the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the established Church, could be "conserved" only if they were always adapted to the fluctuating society. This in two words was the *middle way*.

Again to emphasize the conservative mood, which saturated both parties, Halévy relates how the anti-clericalism of the early years of this period, which had been an outgrowth of Church opposition to the reform bill, dissolved so easily. It was an eloquent factor in the history of this era that the religious enthusiasm of the English kept

<sup>1</sup>*The Triumph of Reform*, p. 351.

pace with the revolutionary propaganda; and it was equally meaningful that the religious groups, both High Church and Evangelical, made efforts to reform and to strengthen their individual followings. Evangelicalism is credited with being the force which restored the balance momentarily destroyed by the explosions of 1830, and it was also largely responsible for the two great humanitarian reforms of that period, the Factory Act and the Emancipation of the West Indian Negro.

Equally erudite discussions of the Chartists, the progress of industry, and the growth of free trade round out the third volume in *A History of the British People in the Nineteenth Century*. The last mentioned item, the growth of free trade, is for Halévy a conclusion in itself. In the power of the appeal of the free trade movement, which offered superficially the most attractive political and economic program to the Englishman, there is a culmination of many of the discordant ingredients of the period. In other words the mark of free trade, not the socialism of Robert Owen, nor the violence of the Chartists, was to be the most characteristic symbol of the coming years.

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*The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship.* By G. W. O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1948. Pp. 288. Price: 25s net.

Part of the genius of the Anglican Communion throughout its history has been its remarkable ability to receive cultural and artistic legacies and to fashion them into apt articulations of its own essence. One thinks immediately of Hooker's infusion of new Christian content into medieval political theory, or of the work of Lightfoot and Hort and Westcott in applying the canons of literary criticism to the New Testament so rigorously that the fundamental message of that document is perceived more clearly in the light of their application of sound scholarship.

But one is inclined to forget that the revival of popular liturgical worship by the English reformers, and its later development, rearranged and reformed drastically church architecture—so much so that it can be justly said that Church of England worship demanded and produced its own unique architectural setting. A reminder of this fact comes as something of a shock to a generation still largely enslaved to the neo-Gothicism of its grandparents. Such a reminder is this book by the canon residentiary of York, the Rev. G. W. O. Addleshaw, and Frederick Etchells, a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. They very accurately call their book, "An Inquiry into the arrangements for Public Worship in the Church of England from the Reformation to the present day." After describing pre-Reformation worship settings and the introduction of new

elements by the Edwardian reformers, they divide their material into three periods, and discuss various elements of church buildings in each of them:

"In the first, which extends from 1559 to 1841, churches were arranged on the whole according to principles which represented a development of those laid down at the Elizabethan Settlement. The second period, from 1841 to about 1930, witnessed an ever increasing departure from these principles as a result of the new ideas of Christian worship and church building which originated from the Oxford Movement and the Gothic Revival. The chief outward characteristic of this period was the filling of chancels with organs and stalls for a surpliced choir, with the consequent separation of the people from the altar. Since 1930 the Church has entered a new period, marked by a hesitant reaction against the typical nineteenth-century arrangement." (P. 36.)

For one thing, the collaborators have produced an exceptionally fascinating history of the English Church by tying that history to the development of the communion's architectural *kunstwollen*. For the general historical reader, here are fresh glimpses of Laud the man, as well as his extraordinary influence in the Church; of Christopher Wren and his deep devotion to Christianity as Anglicanism knows it; of the romantic medievalism of the Victorian period; of the quality and conduct of Church of England worship through the years, and so on.

But even more important, here is a scholarly and constructive exposition of how Anglican worship found itself uncomfortable in and handicapped by the hierarchical arrangement of medieval houses of worship, and so altered them as to provide a means of articulation of the principle of *common* prayer; it is an exposition of how the Laudian reform added its contribution to the Church's life of worship; it is an exposition of the liturgical and architectural experimentation of the eighteenth, and the self-consciousness of the nineteenth, century. So liturgiologist and architect join historian in finding immense value in the work.

Yet paramount is the inspiration here afforded toward recapturing the desire and ability to enshrine the heart of the Church's mission and message into the material fabric of its worship-places. For esthetic as well as utilitarian reasons, our church buildings should proclaim, in the very forceful way of which they are capable, the gospel. And, sad to say, in a day of probably unprecedented construction of churches (at least in America), a willingness to deviate from "the typical nineteenth century arrangement" is very, very hesitant. Addleshaw and Etchells' study is invaluable, then, for architects, clergy, and building committee members, who want to build sensibly, to eschew those architectural aberrations and slavish copyings which so easily detract from a building's beauty and usefulness, and to embody insofar as possible the basic principles of Anglican worship into the buildings which are to house it. Even those whose activity in refurbishing churches is extremely limited will find help here.

But the book is no "how-to-do-it" guide to erecting an edifice, nor a one-sided apologia for a particular architectural type. Rather, it is a searching, well-documented, able, historical work for the serious student of worship and its setting. The twelve instructive plates, fifty-seven detailed plans chosen carefully to illustrate the text, and extensive bibliography greatly enhance the book's usefulness, as do the four remarkable documents about worship which are appended.

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*Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars.* By Frank Barlow (British Series, Oxford University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), pp. xviii, 156. Index. 1950. Price, \$2.50.

This is the most recent publication in "The British Series," published by Oxford University, which is described as a collection of works or selected studies which have been submitted, or based upon those submitted, for higher degrees in the University, and which advance knowledge of the structural development, whether political, ecclesiastical, or economic, of British society. With this explanation, it will be understood that this is a work written by an advanced student of the subject treated, for the use of other students. The body of the book consists of an enormous mass of detail covering the life of three centuries, from the ninth to the thirteenth, of three "convents," or associations of monks, situated one in the monastery in Durham, one in Yorkshire, and the third over the Scottish border in Lothian, but all under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Durham. It goes to great length to describe how the respective "franchises" of these convents were developed out of ancient customs, or under charters, forged or actual, granted by successive bishops, and how during the course of the three centuries the bishop of the diocese regained many of the rights of the ordinary which previously had been claimed by the convent.

The whole work is written entirely in the language of English canon law, and the average reader cannot begin to understand it unless he has either the Oxford Dictionary or Webster's Unabridged at his elbow for constant use. For instance, the title of the book is not understandable until he learns from his dictionary that the word "peculiar" in English canon law means "a particular parish or church which is exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary." Under this definition, one understands that the convents mentioned in Yorkshire and Lothian were not under the jurisdiction of the bishop (archbishop) of York or the bishop of St. Andrew's, in which they were respectively situated, but under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Durham. In like manner, he must learn that in English canon law

the "franchise" is explained as follows: "In early English history franchise is used chiefly of immunities or exemptions from various burdens or charges of a feudal or jurisdictional nature." But with this explanation, and further constant reference to his dictionary for the meanings of words, the reader may form a picture, and in some respects an unpleasant one, of the Church life of those centuries.

The introduction and the conclusion, and the summaries at the end of each chapter, are of far more general interest than the mass of detail of the body of the work. These sections show something of the process by which the rudimentary dioceses of the Saxon Church were transformed by slow degrees to conform more closely to the Norman-Roman conception of the strongly organized and centralized diocese.

We who are accustomed to the conception of the diocese in our modern Church life are amazed to read of the confusion and disorder in the Church of England of the eleventh century, when the Normans came. Describing the then existing conditions, the author writes:

"Bishops ceased to have control over their diocesan parishes as such; their authority was confined to those churches which they themselves owned through either their episcopal or private estates. And the bishop enjoyed this power over his proprietary churches whether they were situated in his own diocese or within that of another. Dioceses were dissolving. Apart from ancient tradition, only one factor preserved them from complete dissolution: the duty incumbent on every parish priest to obtain the chrism, or holy oil, annually on Maundy Thursday from his local diocesan. The maintenance of this formal link was probably the work of national legislation of c. 925, doubtless aimed at safeguarding one of the residuary public sources of episcopal revenue. It was a law of considerable importance, for it hindered a bishop who had estates and churches in the diocese of another from attaching those estates radically to his own bishopric. The link could, of course, be broken; but it maintained a principle, and preserved the conception of a fixed territorial diocese such as had been expressed by the councils of Theodore of Tarsus." (Int, pp. ix-x.)

The book may help us also to understand perhaps a little more clearly the existence of some of the ancient ways which still exist in the Church of England, as for instance the advowson method of appointment of rectors of parishes among others. The book is hard reading; but one may learn from this study of conditions in the one palatinate diocese of Durham, something of the conditions and problems through which the Church of England had to fight its way in those three centuries.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON.

*Richmond, Virginia.*



*Chapters in Church History.* By P. M. Dawley. (New York. The National Council 1950. \$1.50.)

All in all, it may be said that Dr. Dawley has successfully met the most serious problem which confronts him who would tell the life-story of the Church in small compass—the selection of material. Not all of us, of course, would have made in all respects identical inclusions and omissions.

Certainly the reader is in no danger of missing the forest for the trees, or of failing to follow the thread of the narrative. Analysis seems to reveal a few controlling principles which determine the selection and use of material and provide a core of unity for the whole: God's supremacy in human affairs; His redemptive purpose through His Church; the Church as a fellowship, the divine-human community in which this redemptive purpose is realized; the unique heritage, ethos, and responsibility of Anglicanism in Christendom. All this is the sort of corrective which the secularism of our times demands.

Dr. Dawley is endowed with gifts and grace of exposition. More than this, he handles religious history religiously—which is not to say sentimentally or "piously." As to his interpretation, this reviewer feels it somewhat an embarrassment to pronounce, so congenial is it to his own. He never fails to write consciously as a Christian and a Churchman, at once Catholic and Reformed. One would be hard put to it to find evidence of partisanship save against those whose Christianity is a thin veneer to cover secularism or indifference.

The chapters are five in number. 1. "The Church and the Roman World." 2. "The Medieval Commonwealth." 3. "Christianity in England." 4. "The Crisis of the Reformation." 5. "Christianity in the Modern World." The first three are considerably briefer—and so more selective. Each is adequate to its purpose, albeit one can but wish that a larger space might have been allotted to the first and second chapters.

There are a few omissions which may be regretted. Thus, Charlemagne and the Carolingian period, important as they are, are mentioned only casually, and the long medieval struggle between Empire and Papacy hardly receives adequate treatment. More serious is a gap in the account of English Christianity between the Restoration and the Evangelical Movement: the tensions under James II, and the Revolution of 1688 with its consequences—Nonjuror schism, Toleration Act, and the rise of Latitudinarianism—without which the significance of the eighteenth century revival can scarcely be understood.

It is an encouraging thing that at long last the Church is sponsoring such a competent piece of historical writing for the education of her people in the matters which pertain to their faith and fellowship; that at last we have the courage to build up an official literature of adult education of which we have no cause to feel ashamed.

PERCY V. NORWOOD.

*Seabury-Western Theological Seminary,  
Evanston, Illinois.*



*Communism and the Churches: A Documentation.* By J. B. Barron and H. M. Waddams. Morehouse-Gorham Company: New York. \$1.25. Pp. 102.

This compilation of official documents revealing the policy of European Communist states toward religious bodies is timely and important. It is not an analysis nor a commentary. It is a collection of the actual documents, arranged chronologically, to show the Communist strategy toward organized Christianity: Roman Catholic, Uniat, Orthodox, Lutheran, and Reformed. The material is arranged geographically. The longest chapter deals with USSR, and others follow on Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, and Yugoslavia. A translation of the Vatican Decree of July 13, 1949, regarding Communism, is appended. Many of these documents have appeared only in scattered periodicals in the original tongues, and it is of great value to have them gathered together in an English translation.

The reader completes his study with the very definite conclusion that the Communist attitude toward Christianity is functional. The Communist state will tolerate any religious body as long as it will transform itself into an instrument of the state, and will not interfere with state control of human life and thought. This conclusion has long been the suspected explanation of the shifting policy toward Christianity in Soviet Russia since 1918. A state ban on religion was followed by a state recognition of the Russian Orthodox Church with controls on all religious bodies having foreign affiliations. For this reason, many Russian Orthodox in exile in Paris and North America would have no dealings with the Moscow patriarchate.

The Russian pattern of activity, extending over a long period, has been recapitulated in a much shorter period in every Communist satellite state. In these countries the constitutional arrangements explicitly permit religious liberty, provided that the church attend to purely spiritual matters. This has been shown to mean, in almost every instance, the abandonment of church-managed schools and the censorship of the church press. Freedom to educate and freedom to publish are forms of religious liberty not tolerated. In every country some religious bodies have refused to accept these terms and have suffered persecution. In every country other religious bodies have accepted the terms and have received state patronage, adulation, and support. The Russian Orthodox Church seems to have followed its historic position of Caesarism and has been rewarded. This seems to have been true also of the Orthodox Churches of Albania, Bulgaria, Roumania and Yugoslavia. The Reformed Church in Hungary and the Czechoslovak Church (a nationalistic, schismatic, anti-Roman body) have entered into agreement with the state and have received benefits. On the other hand, Roman Catholicism has been persecuted in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Roumania, as the well known trials of Cardinal Mindzenty and Monsignors Beran and Stepinac testify. The same persecution has been extended to the Lutheran Bishop Ordass of Hungary and fifteen Protestant pastors in Bulgaria. The same state of affairs would seem to explain the

otherwise inexplicable "return" of the Greek Uniate Church in Western Ukraine and the Uniat Church of Roumania to the "bosom of its Holy Mother," the Moscow patriarchate. All of this illuminates the background of the position taken by Joseph Hromadka of Czechoslovakia at the World Council of Churches meeting in Amsterdam in 1948, and the condemnation of this Council, the ecumenical movement, and the orders of the Church of England by the Moscow patriarchate.

The only terms with which Communism will deal with Christianity are those of incorporation of church into state. It will accommodate to this policy Orthodox, Uniat, or Free-church bodies. It will persecute with equal intensity a Czechoslovakian archbishop, a Bulgarian pastor, and a Hungarian Lutheran bishop. Martyrs of every religious division have fallen under its axe, and compromisers of other faiths have been awarded protection. All of this provides bald facts in any theoretic discussion of Communism and Christianity.

LOUIS A. HASELMAYER.

*Daniel Baker College,  
Brownwood, Texas.*

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*Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy.* By Geoffrey Grimshaw Willis. London, S. P. C. K., 1950, xvi-199, pp. 151.

An admirably sound and careful history of an important topic in the history of the Church and of Christian thought which in spite of its significance, contemporary as well as historical, has not previously received separate full-length treatment in English.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

*Berkeley Divinity School,  
New Haven, Connecticut.*

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*Russian Nonconformity.* By Serge Bolshakoff. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 192 pp. \$3.00.

An interesting and valuable account of a fascinating subject, the numerous sects, ultra-conservative or ultra-radical, which have challenged the official Orthodox Church of Russia. Dr. Bolshakoff expands the usual definition of this topic to include (Roman) Catholicism in Russia, and, under the heading of "New Nonconformity," the various divisions of the Russian Church itself since it lost its position as the official religious institution of the country in 1917.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

## III.

## Theology and Philosophy

*Divine Transcendence in the Old Testament.* By Hughell E. W. Fosbroke. Evanston, Illinois: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary. 1950. Pp. 26.

In his 1950 Winslow Memorial Lecture, Dean Fosbroke has set himself to consider the question "whether the revelation given in the long discipline of Israel's history does not reflect a far more pervasive implication of the divine revelatory activity in the human story than a one-sided emphasis on transcendence would seem to recognize." The phrasing of the question indicates the answer which is reached. The origins of Hebrew religion and the subsequent prophetic movement are called upon to furnish the proof.

Israel's faith began with the breaking in of the transcendent at Sinai but it was a breaking in "to draw a people into relation to himself." It was God's mysterious incalculable power displayed in storm and volcano which made for justice. The appreciation of divine immanence as well as transcendence goes back to Moses. Dean Fosbroke does not attempt to explain how the element of righteousness comes in to modify what is essentially a moral unpredictability. There is no mention of the part the covenant may have played here.

The highlights of Dean Fosbroke's treatment lie in his recognition of the importance and influence of two elements usually ignored or condemned completely. Both of these enrich and undergird belief in divine immanence. They are contributions of the Baal worship in giving "a realization of God's ordered ways and of his tender concern for man as shown in nature's ministration to human welfare" and the place which group hope prophecy played, particularly in the post-exilic period.

There were dangers implicit in both and they are pointed out. The pernicious results of the unholy alliance between the materialism of Baalism and the Israelite dogma of a chosen people draws the condemnation of Micah, Amos and Isaiah. The group prophecy of their opponents was belied by the events of the fall. Yet the J writer and Hosea draw upon the values in the Baal concept of the God of nature, and the post-exilic prophets find meaning and significance for life in their belief "in the immanent activity of a transcendent God of unbounded creativity."

Dean Fosbroke has given us a needed correction to a too one-sided view of the Hebrew idea of God, and at the same time an able, panoramic survey of the religious movements in ancient Israel.

CORWIN C. ROACH.

*The Deanery,  
Bexley Hall,  
Gambier, Ohio.*

*Living the Creed.* By Carroll E. Simcox. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, Inc. vii-182 pages. Price \$2.75.

Dr. Simcox became well known to the American Church through his editorship of the book review pages of *The Living Church*. In this book, his first to be published, he has attempted to present what it *means* to live by the affirmations of the creed; he wishes to get behind the formal theology to the practical implications which this possesses for the average loyal Christian. In this effort he succeeds to a marked degree.

It is inevitable that in a work of this sort the reader will find sections which he wishes could have been phrased otherwise, even pages which he would himself not have written. But it is fair to judge such a book by its over-all, not by its piece-meal, impression upon the reader. And the reviewer thinks that Dr. Simcox's book emerges from such a test as a winning, delightfully written, extremely literate, and sometimes very beautiful statement of what it means to be a Christian in the sense in which the Prayer Book employs the term.

With this in mind, one can say that parish clergy will find it particularly helpful for its suggestions as to ways in which they themselves can present the faith in a compelling yet attractive way, while they can recommend it to parishioners who wish to see what is the underlying significance of that which they profess loyally when they recite the Apostles' Creed at Sunday service.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*Work in Modern Society.* By J. H. Oldham. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, Inc. 62 pages. 85 cents.

Dr. Oldham's study, prepared for the World Council of Churches, is an admirable sketch of the meaning of "work" in contemporary life, with an emphasis upon the disintegration of the sense of vocation and the consequent disintegration of the personality of the worker in such a situation. Coupled with this careful analysis of the present state of work and the worker, Dr. Oldham gives us his positive comments, insisting upon the necessity for personal relationships between workers, and between workers, consumers and managers, as well as on the recovery of a sense of "call," which will give what a man does such significance that he will have both pride in and responsibility for his labour. This booklet might well serve as a text for study-groups in the parish, as well as a guide for those who wish to pursue further such a clear diagnosis of the ills of our modern industrial society.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*The General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

*Freedom Before Management.* By Robert Wood Johnson. (N. Y., 1950, no publisher, no price.)

Under this title is printed an address by Robert Wood Johnson, of the well-known Johnson & Johnson, before the Society for the Advancement of Management, in acknowledgment of the Society's award to him for his contribution to Human Relations. He counsels his fellow-executives to take more interest in local government, even to the extent of running for office. If they don't strive to improve local government, and local interest in national policies, they cannot expect good national government. He counsels them also to further the study of "political economics," by which it is to be supposed he indicates those questions of economics which enter into governmental decisions. Lastly, he would have them bring the clergy into their plants, to bring about recognition that we do not live by bread alone. If we do not do these things, we cannot expect to retain the freedom we have inherited. "Management must defend the basic freedom essential to its existence."

The efforts of the National Association of Manufacturers and of the United States Chamber of Commerce in the field of public relations have not been effective. They would do well to confine themselves to representing their memberships in matters of legislation and to "matters of organized self-discipline for business and the exchange of information." Better public relations can best be achieved in the locality of each business enterprise, through personal acquaintance.

Mr. Johnson sees further ahead and further within than most of his business colleagues.

SPENCER ERVIN.

*Philadelphia.*

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*A History of Philosophical Systems.* Edited by Vergilius Ferm. New York: Philosophical Library. xiv-642 pages. \$6.00.

Dr. Ferm is well-known as the editor of several symposia, as well as of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion*. In this volume he has brought together a group of scholars who have contributed essays on the various philosophical "systems" which historically demand attention, as well as those which today are contending in the schools.

The reviewer is not competent to comment on the quality of the contributions which represent the philosophies of the Far East, but those dealing with Western thought, from Greece to the present day, seem both good and useful. One of the best essays in the book is Helmut Kuhn's discerning analysis of existentialism, in its Christian and non-Christian forms. Others which are noteworthy are the discussions of Thomism and Medieval thought, and some of the contributions that treat of contemporaneous ideas, including the philosophy of science and history.

It is unfortunate that the editor, in the final essay, lets his personal dislike of "orthodoxy" get the better of him, so that he closes the book with a starry-eyed vision of the day when traditional theologies will be no more and "philosophy of religion," without commitments of any sort, takes their place. He has a hard time doing this, because honesty compels him to recognize the revival of confessional and orthodox thought in our own day, but where there's a will, there's a way, so we hear much about a new ideal which sounds like a glorified theosophy.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*The Philosophy of Religion.* By William S. Morgan. New York: Philosophical Library. Pages xv-413. Price \$6.00.

The author's identity is not disclosed anywhere in the book nor on the jacket, but since he holds the degree of "S. T. D.," one may assume that he is a clergyman. But *The Philosophy of Religion*, which might be described as an essay in idealistic philosophy, does away very neatly with the Christian religion in anything like its historical sense.

"Man is an essential and contributory part of God," we are told on page 342. It is no wonder, then, that a few pages earlier, we learn that what is true of Jesus is true of every man, since "each soul is an eternal *logos*," and "every soul is a mediator between the Infinite and the finite." There is a sense in which both these statements might be reconciled with Christianity, but it would require considerable stretching to do so. In fact, Dr. Morgan appears to be a Christian in sentiment, but his philosophy, which in certain respects resembles the Hegel of that writer's "Philosophy of Religion," is such that the traditional dogmas of the Christian Church become apt symbols for generally true propositions. The scandal of particularity is notably absent.

Not that there are absent from the book some very telling and interesting observations about religion, as about ethics and about science and religion and their relationship. But "unity" and "continuity," the two principles upon which the author works, are carried to such an extreme that almost anything is everything, and everything pretty much nothing—which is a somewhat "smart" way of describing this variety of idealism but none the less an apt way.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*The General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*



*East and West.* By Mary Burt Messer. New York: Philosophical Library. 66 pages. \$3.00.

The author of this book is a Christian Scientist and she writes a "Christian Science Reply" to the Communist Manifesto. This is rather a funny idea: one who denies the reality of matter answering one who denies (or is said to deny) the reality of Spirit. In fact, the writer has great sympathy with the social aspirations of the Communists and is of the opinion that it is the failure of the "democracies" to meet the just social demands of working-people everywhere which largely explains the rise of the Communist movement. When she goes on from this to say that the Christian Science movement and literature provide the ideological base for a genuine social advance, we can only smile . . . for does not this, in itself, involve a contradiction of the essentials of that weird American-born religion, that modern gnosticism, which seems almost to express in formula what is the matter with a world which has forgotten the principle of incarnation and sacrament, and is therefore unable to reconcile, as Catholic Christianity can and does, the apparent antinomy between things and Reality?

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*The General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*Jerusalem.* By Trude Weiss-Rosmarin, with an Introduction by Daniel Frisch. Philosophical Library, New York, 1950. 51 pp. \$2.75.

Jerusalem is both a city and a symbol. In the course of its life as a city, it has passed through many experiences which have enriched and complicated its status as a symbol. For it means one thing to the Jew, another to the Christian, another to the Moslem. And, because political factors have become more urgent than religious considerations, the city is now an international problem.

This little book gives a brief account of the history of Jerusalem from pre-Biblical times to the present. Quotations from the Scriptures and from later Jewish literature reflect the emotional aura which has come to surround the city and which, like any emotional force, makes it hard to think calmly and clearly. The present situation is described from a strongly Jewish viewpoint; that is, the Jews have made all the concessions and sacrifices and have at last rightly taken their destiny into their own hands. There are twelve photographs of scenes in the modern city, and a map.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*



*The Story of Architecture.* By P. Leslie Waterhouse; revised by R. A. Cordingley M.A., F.R.I.B.A. (B. T. Batsford, 1950). 10s 6d.

Here is a delightful handbook, brief and to the point, a valuable introduction to the greatest of the arts. The student will find here all that he wants as an outline, which he can fill in when need arises, and which he can use as a guide to a great subject and settle down later to the more detailed study of his favourite period. The more advanced student will learn much from this lucid account of the intricacies of building. The chapters on Aegean, Greek, Etruscan and Roman architecture are perhaps the best in a book that is wholly admirable. Among the many excellent illustrations is a charming picture of Haddon Hall; a fine photograph of the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, a modern building for which we can find nothing but praise; a sketch of the Radcliffe Observatory, Oxford, an architectural gem which is never seen by the reviewer without renewed admiration; and a charming water colour of Durham Cathedral from the Wear River.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,  
Oxford, England.*

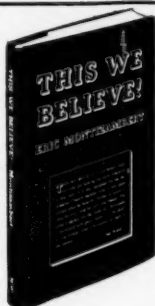
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*The Architecture of Ancient Greece.* An Account of its Historic Development. By William Bell Dinsmoor. B. T. Batsford, Ltd. 1950. 30s net.

This new and enlarged edition of a volume long out of print, coming as it does from the competent hand of one of the leading authorities of the day on ancient Greek architecture, will form an indispensable companion to classical scholars, professional architects and students. "Back to the styles" must still be the motto of all architectural students, and until and unless the lessons of the past have been more thoroughly learned, it will be impossible to advance in creative ability and to roll away the prevailing poverty of architectural conception. For this, if for no other purpose, we can hardly have too many really first class studies, and Professor W. B. Dinsmoor's splendidly produced and admirably illustrated survey of the buildings of ancient Greece is hardly likely to be supplanted for many years to come.

R. D. MIDDLETON.





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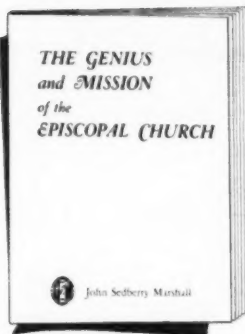
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